Mary Queen of Scott 1689

A

DETECTION,

Of the

ACTIONS

OF

MARY

Queen of Scots,

CONCERNING

The Murther of Her HUSBAND, and Her Conspiracy, Adultery, and pretended Marriage with the Earl *BOTHWEL*.

And a Defence of the True LORDS, Maintainers of the KING's Majesties Action and Authority.

Written in Latin by G. BUCHANAN.

Translated into Scotch. And now made English.

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To the Reader.

I Think it necessary, for the Reader's better understanding the following History, to acquaint him that James the Fifth, having lost his two Sons (both in one Week) a little before he was slain at Flodden-Field, left no other Heir, but Mary, a Child of four days old, which he never had seen. This Child was accepted, and at five years of Age (the Scots seeing they were likely to make better Merchandise of her in France than with us in England, tho we then proffered high) sent her into France, and at Twelve married her to the Dolphin, afterward Francis the First, who at two Years left her a Widow, and so she returned to Scotland, where she found her Mother weltring in her Cruelties, (a Guise) and wasting and gathering with all her might. She being remov'd, the Queen came to be Master of her self, and soon after in a Gayety took Henry Lord Darly, Son to the Earl of Lenox, one of the goodliest Personages accounted of his time, to her Husband. But it seems her first flames being allaied, there was one David Rize either had been, or was grown more into Favor, so that the King grew every day discountenanced; And whereas before in the Coins (as many of them I have seen, comparing the Years) it was in the end of one Year, Henricus & Maria, &c. it was in the beginning of the other, Maria & Henricus, &c. And instead of receiving the Honor of a King, he was sent away from the Court without either Train or Necessaries. This with other Informations of the Queens Carriages, and the Incouragement of some of the Nobility brought him back to Edenburgh, where finding David in the Queens Company, snatch'd him out of her Presence, (giving her some words of Comfort and Assurance, for she was then great with Child) and with some of his Assistance sent him into another Life.

This Minion being gone, Bothwel came into Favor, and that how swiftly and powerfully you may perceive by the Letters annexed to the Discourse: but her hate to her Husband was so exasperated, that both her and Bothwel's Malice and Wits, made his Destruction their chief aim. Her Carriage to him grew every day more and more strange, she augmented her Neglect, in so much that at the Christning of that Son, who was after a Plague to this Nation, he was not suffered to receive the least Honors or Addresses.

She being again at liberty then thought to bestir her self about the compassing of Revenge; Poyson was attempted, but the strength of his Youth overcame it; which the accursed Woman seeing, flattered him into Agreement, and presently lull'd him into Credulity; so that he came again to Edenburgh, and was lodg'd in a little House near the Palace, but out of all hearing. Hither she brought her own rich Bed, and frequently visited him with all shews of Affection. But one Sunday-Night, she discovered her self, and fetching a deep Sigh, O, says she, this time twelve Month was David Rize slain. This it seems came from her heart; for within a few days, the unfortunate young Man, as an Inferiæ to the Ghost of a Fidler, was strangled in his Bed, the House blown up, and his Body thrown out into the Garden, the Queens rich Bed being a day or two before removed.

Now was she at liberty for Bothwel, but there was one Obstacle, he had a Wife already, but she poor Woman must be forced to sue out a Divorce, which was procured in eight days. So that now the way was smooth, and an Ambassador with fine penn'd Instructions sent to

the King of France, *to give an account of her new marriage. But all this could not still the Crys of the People, whose impatience, grief, and rage at that time (particulars whereof I have seen in an authentick* Scotch *Diurnal of that date) was such, that* Bothwel *was forced to suborn some People to accuse him; but he having Creatures enough, few daring to witness, and many Judges of his party, was acquitted. But at last the honest part of the Nobility, sensible of those outragious, made a Head, broke Bothwel's Forces, put him to flight, took her Prisoner, and made her resign up the Government to her Son, (all this before the said Ambassador who was sent into* France, *had had his first Audience) then a Child in the Cradle, known afterwards by the name of* James *the Sixth.*

This is as much as I can say to give light to the Book that follows. 'Twas written by the most excellent Pen of that Age, a Man, as Sir Philip Sidney *justly calls him, of a piercing Wit, consummate Learning, and careful Observation of things, which made him known to the greatest Princes of his Time, and dear to his own. This made him School-master to his King, who imploy'd him in the weightiest Transactions at home and abroad, made him Keeper of the Privy Seal of* Scotland (*tho he never sought himself, nor could withdraw from the ancient Parcimony and Frugality, he dying very poor.*) *So that it is not to be supposed that a Person so well qualified for knowledge in those things, and of a Reputation so untouch'd, would have adventur'd to divulge matters of this nature, in a place where most men might have call'd him Lyar. But certainly, both in his History, which he dedicated to the* Son, *and in this Piece, which he penn'd in the name of the Lords, if there were any fault, it was too broad. And the worthy Master* Cambden *in his* Annals *tells us,* He wished, he might have wiped out all that he had writ against *Mary* Queen of *Scots* with his Blood, *yet when I consider the Times he writ in, and the general silence of it among the* Scots, *and the disgrace that* Buchanan *died in when King* James *came to maturity; methinks I cannot give so much credit in this to that famous Historian, as in other things, though he might* mendacium dicere, *not* mentiri.

And tho Cauſſin *in his* Holy Court, *make her a* Heroine, *nay, a* Saint: *and* Strada *in his* De Bello Belgico, *digresses to celebrate her with immoderate praises, yet certainly any man, that would guide his historical faith aright, will much rather choose to believe men either Actors in a Business, or neighbors to it, and such as receive assurance from their eyes, than men that are remote, and such as are necessitated to see through the false or broken light of Information; especially Persons hid in* Cells, *and excluded from* Business, *absolutely devoted to a Religion, to which she was an* Appuy, *and absolute Enemy to that Power, under which she receiv'd just Sentence and Execution. To say nothing that the Religious especially those that seek to grow into the repute of the World by carnal ways, think themselves highly advanced by a long Bead-roll of Martyrs, be their pretences never so slight, or their Persons themselves never so much deserving an* Anathema.

Farewel.

A DETECTION Of the ACTIONS of MARY QUEEN of SCOTS.

WHereas of things judicially determined within a Dominion, to have an Account demanded by Strangers, is to such as are not subject to Foreign Jurisdiction, both strange; and also for the strangeness, displeasant. To us, above all other, it ought to be most grievous, who are driven to this Strait of Necessity, that whose Faults we desire to cover, their Lives we are forc'd to accuse, unless we our selves will be accounted the most wicked Persons that live. But a great part of this Grief is relieved by your Equity (most excellent Queen) who take it no less displeasantly to see your Kinswoman, than we to see our Queen thus, in speech of all Men, to be so dishonourably reported of; who also are for your part no less desirous to understand the Truth, than we for ours to avoid Slander. Therefore we will knit up the Matter as briefly as possibly may be, and declare it with such shortness, as we may rather seem to have lightly run over the chief Points, than to have largely expressed them; beginning at the Queen's first Inconstancy. For, as in making of her Marriage, her Lightness was very headlong and rash, so

ſuddainly followed either inward Repentance, or, at leaſt, outward Tokens of Change of her Affection, without any Cauſes appearing: For whereas the King, in former time, was not only neglected, but alſo unworthily uſed; at length began open Hatred to break out againſt him, eſpecially in that Winter when he went to *Pebles* with a ſmall Train, even too mean for a private Man; not being ſent thither a-Hawking, but commanded away into a Corner, far from Council, or Knowledge of publick Affairs. Neither is it neceſſary to put in Writing thoſe things, which as they were then as a Spectacle, noted of all Men's Eyes, ſo now, as a freſh Image, they remain imprinted in all Men's Hearts. And though this were the beginning of all the Evils that followed; yet, at the firſt their Practices were ſecret, ſo as not only the common People; but alſo ſuch as were right familiar, and preſent at the doing of many matters, could not underſtand throughly, what thing the Queen then chiefly intended.

At the laſt, about the Month of *April* in the Year 1566, when the Queen was returned from *Dunbar* to *Edinburgh*, and was lodged in the Caſtle; ſhe kept there till the time of her Travail of Child. After her Deliverance, immediately the ſecret Counſels of the intended Miſchief began to break out; the effect whereof was this, to diſpatch away the King by one means or other howſoever, and to marry with *Bothwel*. And that her ſelf ſhould not be touched with ſuſpicion of the Murder; ſhe began ſecretly, by little, and little, to ſow Seeds of Diſſention between the King and the Lords that were then at Court, ſtill more and more inflaming them, to bring the Matter to deadly Feud. And if at any time, ſhe eſpied the Suſpicions of the one againſt the other to languiſh; immediately, with new Reports to both Parties, ſhe whetted them on again to freſh Diſpleaſures, perſwading the Nobility againſt the King, and the King againſt the Nobility, that each intended others Deſtruction. And ſhe thought nothing ſo long as to ſee the Matter come to Stroke, not caring whether of them obtained the Victory; for ſhe accounted the Loſs on either ſide for her Advantage, as hoping thereby to advance forward one Degree nearer to that which ſhe intended. Finally, in ſhort time ſhe ſo filled their Hearts with mutual Jealouſies one againſt another, that there was not a Man of any Reputation in the Court, but was driven to this Neceſſity, either with Diſhonour, to yield to Rumours feigned againſt him, or to enter into Combat with the Reporters, or to withdraw him home. And though we ſhall paſſe over the reſt, having deſire to haſte to the chief Point of the Matter; yet this one notable ſlanderous Practice at that time, is not to be omitted. For on a time when the King had been in talk with the Queen, till the Night was far ſpent; the Sum, in a manner of all her Communication was, That almoſt all the Nobility had conſpired his Death, and were deviſing how to diſpatch him. After

the

the King's Departure from her, she sent forthwith for the Earl of *Murray* her Brother, who after was Regent, with this Message, That the Matter was heinous, and necessarily requiring his Presence without delay. He being awaked out of sound Sleep in great Fear, cast a Night-gown over his Shirt, and as he was half naked, ran to her in haste. To him then she used even the like Talk, as she had before to the King, informing him that the King boiled in such deadly Hatred against him; and took it so displeasantly, that he stood so highly in her Grace, that he was fully determined, so soon as any possible Opportunity served, to murder him. So, as much as in her lay, she left no Means unassay'd to set them together by the Ears, and without all doubt had done it indeed, if it had not been God's good Pleasure to deliver the innocent Persons from so perillous Treasons, and to disclose her wicked Treachery.

When this Attempt failed her, she assailed the young and unexperienced Gentleman with a new subtil Practice. She earnestly laboured with him, That while she was great with Child, he should chuse him some young Gentlewoman, whereof there was great store, whose Company he might use in the mean time. She promised him her assent and furtherance with Pardon and Leave to commit the Offence. She named to him the Earl of *Murray*'s Wife; not for that she esteemed that most noble Lady most apt for such a Villainy, but because she thought by that way to be revenged of three Enemies at once, the King, the Earl, and his Wife, and therewithal to win a Colour and Cause of Divorce, to make empty Bed-room for *Bothwel*. After she was delivered of Child, though she courteously entertain'd all other; yet as oft as Word was brought her that the King was come to see her, both she and her Company so fram'd their Speech and Countenance, as if they seemed to fear nothing more, than that the King should not perceive that they loathed him, and that his Coming and Presence was displeasant to them all. On the other side *Bothwel* alone was all in all, he alone was Governour of all her Counsels, and all her Affairs. And so desirous was the Queen to have her hearty Affection towards him understood of all Men, that if any Suit were to be made towards her, there was no way of speeding for any Man, but by *Bothwel* to obtain it.

The Queen offereth to be Bawd to her own Husband.

Not long after her Deliverance, on a Day very early, accompanied with very few that were privy of her Counsel, she went down to the Water-side, at the Place called the *New-Haven*; and while all marvelled whither she went in such haste; she suddenly entered into a Ship, there prepared for her, which Ship was provided by *Wil. Blacater*, *Edm. Blacater*, *Leonard Robertson*, and *Tho. Dickson*, *Bothwel*'s Servants, and famous Robbers, and Pirates. With this Train of Thieves, all

honeſt Men wondering at it, ſhe betook her ſelf to Sea, taking not any other with her, no not of her Gentlemen, nor neceſſary Attendants for common Honeſty. In *Aloe* Caſtle where the Ship arrived, how ſhe behaved her ſelf, I had rather every Man ſhould with himſelf imagine it, than hear me declare it. This one thing I dare affirm, that in all her Words and Doings, ſhe never kept any regard, I will not ſay of Queen-like-Majeſty, but not of Matron-like-Modeſty. The King, when he heard of this ſudden Departure of the Queen, followed after with all the haſte that he poſſibly could by Land, and there overtook her, in purpoſe, and hoping there to be in her Company, and to enjoy the mutual loving Fellowſhip of Marriage. But how lovingly he was received of her, both all they that were preſent, and ſuch as have heard them report it, can well remember. For being ſcarcely ſuffered to tarry there a few Hours, while his Men and Horſes baited, he was enforced to get him away in haſte again, on Pain of further Peril. As for her ſelf, ſhe paſtimed there certain Days, if not in Princely Magnificence; yet in more than Princely, or rather Unprincely Licentiouſneſs. Then went ſhe a hunting, once at the River of *Magat*, another time at the Foreſt of *Glenariue*. There how coily; yea, how loſtily and diſdainfully ſhe behaved her ſelf to the King, What need it be rehearſed; for the thing was openly done in all Men's Sight, and continueth imprinted in all Men's Memories.

When ſhe was returned to *Edinburgh*, ſhe took not her Lodging in her own Palace; but in a private Houſe next adjoining to *John Balfours*. Thence ſhe removed into another Houſe, where the yearly Court, which they call the Exchequer, was then kept: For this Houſe was larger, and had pleaſant Gardens to it, and next to the Garden all along, a ſolitary vacant Room. But there was another Matter, which more than all theſe things allured her thither. There dwelt hard by one *David Chambers*, *Bothwel*'s Servant, whoſe Back-door adjoined to the Garden of the Queen's Lodging. The reſt, who gueſſeth not? for the Queen herſelf confeſſed the Matter, both to many others, and alſo, namely to the Regent and his Mother. But ſhe laid all the blame upon my Lady *Reresie*, a Woman of moſt vile Unchaſtity, who had ſometime been one of *Bothwel*'s Harlots; and then was one of the chief of the Queen's Privy Chamber. By this Woman, who now in her Age had from the Gain of Whoredom, betaken her ſelf to the Craft of Baudry, was the Queen, as her ſelf ſaid, betrayed. For *Bothwel* was brought through the Garden into the Queen's Chamber, and there forced her againſt her Will, Forſooth. But how much againſt her Will, Dame *Reresie* betrayed her, time, the Mother of Truth, hath diſcloſed. For within few days after, the Queen intending, as I ſuppoſe, to requite Force with Force, and to raviſh him again, ſent Dame *Reresie* (who

ha

had her self also before made Triab of the Man's Strength) to bring him Captive unto her Highness. The Queen with *Margaret Carwood*, a Woman privy to all her Secrets, did let her down by a String over an old Wall into the next Garden. But in such Warlike Affairs, all things cannot ever be so well foreseen; but that some incommodious Chance may overthwartly happen. Behold, the String suddenly broke, and down with a great Noise fell Dame *Reresse*, a Woman very heavy, both by unwieldy Age, and massy Substance. But she, an old beaten Soldier, nothing dismayed with the Darkness of the Night, the height of the Wall, nor with the suddenness of the Fall, up she getteth, and running to *Bothwel*'s Chamber, she got the Door open, and out of his Bed, even out of his Wives Arms, half a sleep, half naked, she forceably brings the Man to the Queen. This Manner and Circumstances of the Deed, not only the most Part of them that then were with the Queen have confessed; but also *George Dagliſh*, *Bothwel*'s Chamberlain, a little before he was executed, plainly declared the same, which his Confession still remaineth upon Record.

In the mean time, the King being commanded out of Sight, and with Injuries and Miseries banished from her, kept himself close, with a few of his Servants at *Sterling*. For alas! what should he else do? He could not creep into any piece of Grace with the Queen; nor could get so much as to maintain his daily necessary Expences, to maintain his few Servants and Horses: And finally, with Brawlings, lightly rising from every small Trifle, and by Quarrels usually picked, he was chased out of her Presence; yet, his Heart, obstinately fixed in loving her, could not be restrained; but he must needs come back to *Edinburgh*, on purpose, with all kind of serviceable Humbleness, to get some entry into her former Favour, and to recover the kind Society of Marriage. Who once again being with most dishonourable Disdain excluded, returned from whence he came, there to bewail his woful Miseries, as in a solitary Desart.

Within few days after, when the Queen determined to go to *Jedworth*, to the Assizes there to be holden, about the beginning of *October*, *Bothwel* making his Journey into *Liddesdale*. There behaving himself neither according to the Place whereto he was called, nor according to his Nobility of Race and Estimation, he was wounded by a poor Thief, that was himself ready to die, and carried into the Castle, called the *Hermitage*, with great uncertainty of his Recovery. When News hereof was brought to *Borthwick* to the Queen, she flingeth away in haste like a mad Woman, by great Journeys in Post, in the sharp time of Winter, first, to *Melrose*, and then to *Jedworth*. There though she heard sure News of his Life; yet her Affection, impatient of delay, could not temper it self; but needs she must bewray her outragious Lust,

Lust, and in an inconvenient time of the Year, despising all Discommodities of the Way and Weather, and all Dangers of Thieves, she betook her self headlong to her Journey, with such a Company, as no Man of any honest Degree would have adventured his Life, and his Goods among them. Thence she returned again to *Jedworth*, and with most earnest Care and Diligence, provideth and prepareth all things to remove *Bothwel* thither. When he was once brought thither, their Company and familiar Haunt together, was such as was smally agreeing with both their Honours. There, whether it were by their Nightly and daily Travels, dishonourable to themselves, and infamous among the People, or by some secret Providence of God, the Queen fell into such a foul and dangerous Sickness, that scarcely there remained any Hope of her Life.

When the King heard thereof, he hasted in Post to *Jedworth*, to visit the Queen, to comfort her in her Weakness, and by all the gentle Services that he possibly could, to declare his Affection and hearty Desire to do her Pleasure. So far was it off, that his Lodging and things necessary, were provided for him against his coming (as were wont to be for mean Persons) that he found not any one Token towards him of a Friendly Mind. But this was a Point of most barbarous inhumanity used against him, that the Nobility, and all the Officers of the Court that were present, were specially forbidden to do him any Reverence at all at his coming, nor to yield him their Lodging, nor to harbour him so much as for one Night. And whereas the Queen suspected that the Earl of *Murray*, which afterward was Regent, would shew him Courtesie, she practised with his Wife to go home in haste, and feign her self sick, and keep her Bed, that at least by this Colour, under Pretence of her Sickness, the King might be shut out of Doors. Being thus denied all Duties of civil Kindness, the next Day with great Grief of Heart, he returned to his old solitary Corner. In the mean time, while the King in that want of all things, and forsaken of all Friends, scarce with begging findeth Room in a Cottage, *Bothwel*, out of the House where he was lodged before, as it were in Triumph over the King, was gloriously removed in sight of the People into the Queen's own Lodging, and there laid in a lower Parlour, directly under the Chamber where the Queen her self lay sick. There, while they both were yet feeble and unhealed, she of her Disease, and he of his Wound, the Queen being very weak of her Body, yet visited him daily. And when they were both a little recovered, and their Strengths not yet fully setled, they returned to their old Pastime again, and that so openly, as they seemed to fear nothing more, than lest their Wickedness should be unknown.

About

About the fifth day of *November*, being removed from *Jedworth*, to a Town called *Tele*, there she received Letters from the King, which when she had read in presence of the Regent, the Earl of *Huntley*, and the Secretary; she cast a pitious look, and miserably tormented her self, as if she would have immediately fallen down again into her former sickness; and she plainly and expressly protested, That unless she might by some means or other be dispatched of the King, she should never have one good day: And if by no other way she could attain it, rather than she would abide to live in such sorrow, she would slay her self.

Within few days after, while in her return through *Marchland* she lay at *Coldingham*, Dame *Reresse* passed through the Watch, and was known, and let go. What Company she had, and whither she went at that time of the night, it was not unknown to the Queen. From thence, about the end of *November*, she came to *Cragmillar*, a Castle about two miles from *Edinburgh*, thereto in presence of the Earl of *Murray* (who afterwards was Regent, and now is himself also slain) and of the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, and the Secretary, she fell into her said former Discourse; and also added the most commodious way, as she thought, how it might be brought to pass, that is to sue a Divorce against the King: And she doubted not but that it might be easily obtained, forasmuch as they were the one to the other in such *Cousin-Germans* degree of Consanguinity, as by the Popes Law might not marry together, especially (which was easie for her to do) the Bull being conveyed away, whereby the same Law was dispensed with. Here when one had cast a doubt, That if she should go that way to work, their Son should be made a Bastard, being born out of lawful Wedlock, especialy sith neither of his Parents were ignorant of the causes whereby the Marriage should be void: When she had tossed this Answer a while in her mind, and knew that he said truth, and that she durst not as yet disclose her purpose to make away her Son, she gave over that device of Divorce; and yet from that day forward, she never ceased to pursue her intention of murdering the King, as may easily be perceived by that which followed.

The King being returned from *Stirling* to *Cragmillar*, when he hoped to have found her more gentle toward him, and her displeasure by process of time somewhat appeased, he so found no token of change of her affection, that he was not allowed any thing for his daily sustenance, unless he kept him still at *Sterling*; which thing exceedingly encreased the Peoples suspicion, otherwise of it self already enough inclined to that Judgment, of the unchaste Company of the Queen with *Bothwel*.

About the beginning of *December*, when there were Ambassadours come out of *France* and *England*, to the Christening of the King that now is; that *Bothwel* might be seen gorgeously arrayed among the Nobility, she her self laid out the Money to buy him Apparel, and some she

bought

bought her self of the Merchants for him; and she so applied her self with such diligence in overseeing the making thereof, as if she had been, I will not say his Wife, but even his Servant. In the mean time, her lawful Husband at the Christning of his own Child, not only wanted all her Maintenance for his necessary Expences, but also was commanded not once to come in the Ambassadour's sight; his ordinary Servants were removed from him; the Nobility were enjoined not once to attend on him, nor to do him Honour, nor in a manner to know him; the foreign Ambassadours were warned not to talk with him, whenas the most part of the day they were in the Castle where he was.

The young Gentleman, thus contemptuously and unkindly used, fell in such despair, that he departed from *Sterline* and went to *Glascow* to his Father. At his departure, the Queen still pursued him with her wonted hatred, all his Silver Plate, wherewith he was served from his Marriage till that day, she took it away every whit, and appointed Pewter in the stead thereof. But let this serve only to prove her contempt of him; the rest that followed are evident Arguments of outrageous Cruelty and unappeasable Hatred. Before he had passed a mile from *Sterline*, all the parts of his Body were taken with such a sore ach, as it might easily appear, that the same proceeded not of the force of any sickness, but by plain treachery: The tokens of which treachery, certain black pimples, so soon as he was come to *Glascow*, brake out over his whole Body, with so great ach and such pain throughout all his Limbs, that he linger'd out his life with very small hope of escape; and yet all this while, the Queen would not suffer so much as a Physician once to come at him.

After the Ceremonies of the Christening were ended, she practised with her Brother the Earl of *Murray*, that when he should go to conduct the Earl of *Bedford*, the Queen of *England*'s Ambassadour, to St. *Andrews*, he should require *Bothwel* also to bear him Company, who indeed freely promised so to do; howbeit, both he and the Queen, the Deviser of that Dissimulation, thought nothing less, as the success shewed: For so soon as the King was gone to *Glascow*, and the rest towards St. *Andrews*, she, with her *Bothwel*, got her to *Drumfre*, and from thence to *Tylebarn*: In which Houses, they so passed the time about eight days, in every corner, and in familiar haunting together, as all (saving themselves alone, that had thrown away all shame) were highly offended with their contempt and vile regard of publick Fame, seeing them now not once to seek to cover their filthy Wickedness.

When about the beginning of *January*, they were returned to *Sterline*, she began to find fault with the House wherein her Son was nursed, as incommodious, because it stood in a cold and moist place, dangerous for bringing the Child to a Rheum: But it shall easily appear, that this was done for other purpose, forasmuch as all these Faults that she pretended

tended, were not in that House; but were, indeed, in the other House, to which the Child was removed; being set in a low place, being a very Marsh. The Child being scarcely above six Months old, in the deep of a sharp Winter, was conveyed to *Edinburgh*: There, because the first Attempt prevailed not, and the force of the Poison was overcome by strength of Nature; yet, that, at length, she might bring forth that wherewith she had so long travailed, she entreth into new Devices for the Murther of the King.

Her self goeth to *Glascow*; she pretendeth the Cause of her Journey to be, to see the King alive, whose Death she had continually gaped for the whole Month before! But what was, indeed, the true Cause of that Journey, each Man may plainly perceive by her Letters to *Bothwel*. Being now out of Care of her Son, whom she had in her own Ward, bending her self to the Slaughter of her Husband, to *Glascow* she goeth, accompanied with the *Hamiltons*, and other the King's natural Enemies. *Bothwel* (as it was agreed on between them before) provideth all things ready, that were needful to accomplish that heinous Act. First of all, an House not commodious for a sick Man, nor comely for a King; for it was both torn and ruinous, and had stood empty, without any Dweller, for divers Years before; in a place of small Resort, between the old fallen Walls of two Churches, near a few Alms-houses for poor Beggars. And that no commodious Means for committing that Mischief might be wanting, there was a Postern-door in the Town-wall, hard by the House, whereby they easily might pass away into the Fields. In chusing of the place, she would needs have it thought, that they had respect to the wholsomness thereof: And to avoid Suspicion, that this was a feigned Pretence, her self, the two Nights next before the Day of the Murther, lay there, in a lower Room, under the King's Chamber. And as she did curiously put off the Shews of Suspicion from her self, so the Execution of the Slaughter she was content to have committed to others.

About three Days before the King was slain, she practised to set her Brother *Robert* and him at deadly Enmity; making account, that it should be Gain to her, which soever of them both had perished. For Matter to ground their Dissention, she made Rehearsal of the Speech that the King had had with her concerning her Brother. And when they both so grew in Talk, as the one seemed to charge the other with the Lye, at last they were, in a manner, come from Words, to Blows. But while they were both laying their Hands on their Weapons, the Queen, feigning as though she had been marvellously afraid of that which she so earnestly desired, calleth the Earl of *Murray*, her other Brother, to the parting; to this intent, that she might either presently bring him in danger to be slain himself, or, in time to come, to bear the

Blame of such Mischief as then might have happened. When this Way the Success fell not out as she desired, she devised a new Way to transfer the Suspicion from her self. While the Earl of *Murray* did willingly keep himself from the Court, and had reasonable Excuse for his Absence, for that his Wife being near her Time, was, besides that, always very sick, at the same time there was an Ambassador come from the Duke of *Savoy*. This the Queen took for a convenient Colour to send for her Brother: But the true Cause of her sending for him was, that she had a desire to throw the Suspicion of the King's Murther upon him, and upon the Earl *Morton*; and therewithal also, at once, to procure the Destruction of those two, being Men acceptable to the People, and likewise Adversaries to her Practice, who intended to stamp a Tyrannical Government. But God's good Clemency, that had oft before delivered the Earl of *Murray* from many Treasons of his Enemies, did then also manifestly succour him; for upon the *Sunday*, which was the 9th Day of *February*, when he was going to Church to hear a Sermon, a Letter was brought him, that his Wife was delivered before her Time, and in very small hope of Life. When he, being dismayed at this suddain News, desired leave of the Queen to depart, she answered, That if the Cause were so, it were a superfluous Journey for him to go to her, being not able to do her any Good in her Sickness. But he being still the more importunate, she prayed him, That he would yet tarry but that one Night, and take his Journey the next Day to his Wife. But the Mercy of God now, as at many other times, did deliver that innocent Gentleman from the present Peril, and also took away the Occasion of Slander against him for the time to come. Howbeit, for all this, though there were no Cause of Suspicion, yet he escaped not free from Slander; for *Huntley* and *Bothwel*, though they could not justly charge him, yet laboured by infamous Libels, which they spread abroad, to distain him with the most foul Spot of that shameful Act. And whereas the Murther was committed after Mid-Night, they had, before Day-light, caused (by special fore-appointed Messengers) Rumours to be spread in *England*, that the Earls of *Murray* and *Morton* were Actors of that Slaughter. But that Rumour, so soon as the Light of the Truth once brake forth, suddainly vanished away, as other Falshoods are commonly wont to do.

When all things were ready prepared for performing this cruel Fact, and yet all Occasions cut off, to divert the Blame thereof, the Partners of the Conspiracy, fearing lest long Delay should either bring some Impediment to their Purpose, or disclose their Counsels, determined to dispatch it in all haste. The Queen therefore, for Manners sake, after Supper, goeth up to the King's Lodging: There, being determined to shew him all the Tokens of reconciled Good Will, she spent certain

Hours in his Company, with Countenance and Talk much more familiar than she had used in six or seven Months before. At the Coming in of *Paris*, she broke off her Talk, and prepared to depart. This *Paris* was a young Man, born in *France*, and had lived certain Years in the Houses of *Bothwel* and *Seton*, and afterward with the Queen. Whereas the other Keys of that Lodging were in custody of the King's Servants, *Paris* by feigning certain fond and slender Causes, had in keeping the Keys which *Bothwel* kept back, of the Back-Gate, and the Postern. He was in special Trust with *Bothwel* and the Queen, touching their secret Affairs. His Coming (as it was before agreed among them) was a Watch-word, that all was ready for the Matter. As soon as the Queen saw him, she rose up immediately; and feigning another Cause to depart, she said, *Alas! I have much offended toward* Sebastian *this Day, that I appeared not in a Mask at his Marriage.* This *Sebastian* was an *Arvernois*, a Man in great Favour with the Queen, for his Cunning in Musick, and his merry Jesting, and was married the same Day. The King thus left, in a manner alone, in a desolate place, the Queen departeth, accompanied with the Earls of *Argyle*, *Huntley* and *Cassilis*, that attended upon her. After that she was come into her Chamber, after Midnight, she was in long Talk with *Bothwel*, none being present but the Captain of her Guard. And when he also withdrew himself, *Bothwel* was there left alone, without other Company; and shortly after, retired into his own Chamber. He changed his Apparel, because he would be unknown of such as met him; and put on a loose Cloak, such as the *Spartryters* wear; and so went forward, through the Watch, to execute his intended traiterous Fact. The whole Order of the doing thereof may be easily understood by their Confessions, which were put to death for it.

Bothwel, after the Deed was ended that he went about, returned; and, as if he had been ignorant of all that was done, he got him to bed. The Queen in the mean time, in great Expectation of the Success, how finely she played her part (as she thought) it is marvel to tell; for she not once stirred at the Noise of the Fall of the House, which shook the whole Town; nor at the fearful Out-cries that followed, and confused Cries of the People (for I think there happened to her not any new thing unlooked for) till *Bothwel*, feigning himself afraid, rose again out of his Bed, and came to her, with the Earls of *Argyle*, *Huntley* and *Athole*; and with the Wives of the Earls of *Athole* and *Murray*, and with the Secretary. There, while the monstrous Chance was in telling, while every one wondered at the thing, that the King's Lodging was, even from the very Foundation, blown up into the Air, and the King himself slain. In this Amazedness, and confused Fear of all sorts of Persons, only that same Heroical Heart of the Queen maintained it

self so far from casting her self down into base Lamentations and Tears, unbeseeming the Royal Name, Blood and Estate, that she matched, or rather far surpounced all Credit of the Constancy of any in former times. This also proceeded of the same Nobility of Courage, that she set out the greater part of them that were about her, to enquire out the manner of the doing; and commanded the Soldiers that watched, to follow; and she her self setled her self to rest, with a Countenance so quiet, and Mind so untroubled, that she sweetly slept till the next Day at Noon. But lest she should appear void of all Naturalness at the Death of her Husband, by little and little, at length she kept her close, and proclaimed a Mourning, not long to endure.

The Common People, not certainly knowing whether she laughed or lamented, were divided into sundry Imaginations, sith it was perillous dealing with the disguising of the Court; either in knowing it, to seem to mock it, or in not cunningly dissembling, to seem to know it. While some talked of one sort, some of another, in the mean time, of any Enquiry to be had of the Murther, there was no mention made at all. At length, the Day following, in the After-noon, when both Shame and Fear constrained them thereto, *Bothwel*, the principal Doer of the vile Act, with certain others that were privy to the same, assembled together, with the Earl of *Argyle*, for that he is, by Inheritance, the Justice, to deal with Crimes punishable by Death. First, As though they had been utterly ignorant of all that ever was done, they begin to wonder at the Strangeness of the matter, such as never was heard of, and incredible. Then they begin a little to be busie about their Enquiry, they sent for a few poor, silly Women, that dwelt thereabout; which poor Souls, standing in doubt, whether it were better for them to tell, or hold their peace, though they daintily tempered their Speech, yet, when they had blabbed out somewhat more than the Judges looked for, they were dismissed again, as Fools that had but indiscreetly prated, for their Testimonies, though they touched some Folks throughly, yet they were such as they might easily set light by. Then were called and examined the King's Servants, that were of his Houshold, such as were left undestroyed by that cruel Chance. They denied that they had the Keys in keeping. Being examined who had them, they said, The Queen. So the Enquiry (for Manners sake) was adjourned, but, indeed suppressed, for fear, lest if they proceeded further, the Secrets of the Court might happen to be disclosed. Yet, lest the Matter should seem not to be regarded, out goeth a Proclamation, with Rewards promised to him that could give Information of it. But who durst accuse the Queen? Or (which was, in a manner, more perillous) Who durst detect *Bothwel* of such an horrible Offence; especially, when he himself was both Doer, Judge, Enquirer and Examiner? Yet this Fear, which

ſtopped the Mouth of every Man in particular, could not reſtrain the whole Multitude in general; for both by Books ſet out, and by Pictures, and by Cries in the dark Night, it was ſo handled, that the Doers of that miſchievous Fact might eaſily underſtand, that thoſe Secrets of theirs were come abroad. And when every Man was now out of doubt, who did the Murther, and who gave furtherance unto it, the more that they laboured to keep their own Names undiſcloſed, ſo much the more the People's Grudge (being reſtrained) brake out the more openly. Though they took upon them, as if they regarded not theſe things, yet ſometimes the Rumours ſo inwardly pricked them to the quick, that they could by no means hide their Anger. Therefore, diſcontinuing their ſearching for the King's Death, they begin a new Enquiry, far more earneſt, againſt the Authors of Books, and the Slanders of *Bothwel*, as they themſelves termed them. Theſe Examinations were ſo rigorouſly put in Execution, as neither Money nor Labour of Men nor Horſes, was ſpared about it. All the Painters were called together; all that earned their Living by Writing, were aſſembled, to judge of the Pictures and Books that had been ſet out. And if any Painter had not, of his own Accord confeſſed, that it was he of whoſe Work they enquired, another that was not guilty thereof, but touched a little with a ſlight Suſpicion, had ſuffered for it. There was publiſhed a Proclamation agreeable with the manner of the Inquiſition, wherein it was made Death, not only to ſet out any ſuch Matter; but alſo to read it, being ſet out by another. But theſe Perſons, that with threatning of Death practiſed to ſtop the Speech of the People; yet not ſatisfied with the moſt cruel Murder of the King, ceaſed not their Hatred againſt him when he was dead. All his Goods, Armour, Horſes, Apparel, and other Furniture of his Houſe, the Queen divided, ſome to them that ſlew him, and ſome to his Father's ancient deadly Foes, as if they had, upon Attainder, come to her by Forfeiture, and his Father's Tenants, as though they had been alſo Part of her conquered Booty, ſhe ſo ſcraped, till ſhe brought them in a manner to extream Beggary.

But this was a ſtrange Example of Cruelty, and ſuch as never was heard of before, that as ſhe had ſatisfied her Heart with his Slaughter; ſo ſhe would needs feed her Eyes with the Sight of his Body ſlain. For ſhe long beheld, not only without Grief, but alſo with greedy Eyes, his dead Corps, the goodlieſt Corps of any Gentleman that ever lived in this Age. And then ſuddenly, without any Funeral Honour, in the Night time, by common Carriers of dead Bodies, upon a vile Bier, ſhe cauſed him to be buried hard by *David Rizo*. When theſe doings were known abroad, and that the Indignation of the People had overcome the Threatnings of Penalties, and the Frankneſs of Sorrow ſurmounted Fear, by little and little ſhe began to ſet her Face, and with counterfeiting of

Mourning,

Mourning, she laboured to appease the Hearts of the grudging People. For where the ancient manner hath been for Queens, after the Death of their Husbands, by the space of forty Days, not only to forbear the Company of Men; but also from looking on the open Light, she attempted a disguised manner of Mourning. But the Mirth of Heart far passing the feigned Sorrow, she shut the Doors indeed, but she set open the Windows, and within four days she threw away her wailing Weed, and began to behold both Sun and open Sky again. But this one thing fell very overthwartly. For when *Henry Killegrew* was come from the Queen of *England* to comfort her, as the manner is, this Gentleman-Strangers hap was to marr the Play, and unvizor all the disguising. For when he was, by the Queen's Commandment come to the Court, though he being an old Courtier, and a good discreet Gentleman, did nothing hastily; yet he came in so unseasonably, e'er the Stage was prepared and furnished, that he found the Windows open, the Candles not yet lighted, and all the Provision for the Play out of Order. When of the forty Days that are appointed for the Mourning, scarce twelve were yet fully past, and the counterfeiting would not frame half handsomly, and to disclose her true Affections so soon, she was somewhat ashamed; at length taking Heart of Grace unto her, and neglecting such Trifles, she cometh to her own Bias, and openly sheweth her own natural Conditions. She posteth to *Seton's* House, with a very few, and those not all of the saddest Company. There *Bothwel*, though it seemed, that for the great Favour he then had in Court, and for the Nobility of his Birth, and other respects of Honour, he should have been, next after the Queen, most honourably received, yet was lodged in a Chamber hard by the Kitchin. Howbeit the same was a Place not altogether unfit to asswage their Sorrows, for it was directly under the Queen's Chamber: And if any sudden qualms of Grief should have happened to come over her Heart, there was a pair of Stairs, though somewhat narrow, yet wide enough for *Bothwel* to get up to comfort her.

In the mean time, after the Rumour hereof was spread into *France*, *Mounsieur de Croc*, who had often before been Ambassador in *Scotland*, came in suddenly upon them, God wot full unseasonably. By his advice she returned to *Edinburgh*, out of that Den which even as far as *France* was infamous. But in *Seton's* House were so many commodious Opportunities for her Purpose, that howsoever her good Name were thereby impaired, needs she must go thither again. There were Counsels holden of the great Affairs of the Realm. The end of the Consultation was, that *Bothwel* should be arraigned of the Murder, and acquitted by Judges thereto chosen for the Purpose, and constrained. It was concluded, That the meaner sort of the Judges might with Favour and fair Promises be led, and the rest of the greater and graver sort (without

for

for Fashions Sake they were driven to call to the Matter) might be drawn with Fear to acquit him. For beside Libels thereof commonly thrown abroad, the King's Father the Earl of *Lenox* did openly accuse the Author of the Murder.

The Assembly of the States in Parliament was at hand, which was to be holden the thirteenth of *April*, before which Day they would needs have the Arraignment dispatched. That great haste was the Cause, why in that Proceeding and Trial nothing has been done according to the Form of Law, nothing in Order, nothing after the ancient Usage. There ought to have been publick Summons of the Accusers, the next of the Kin, the Wife, the Father, and the Son, either to be present themselves, or to send their Proctors. The Law also gave them time of forty Days. But here the Father was commanded to come within thirteen Days, and that without any Assembly of his Friends, with his own Houshold-Retinue only, which by Reason of his great Poverty, was now brought to a few: While in the mean time, *Bothwel* with great Bands of Men, daily mustered about the Town. And because he verily believed that in so assured Peril, no Man would take upon him to be his Accuser, he grew to such a Negligence, and such Contempt of Law and judicial Proceedings, that the Indictment was framed of a Murder supposed to be done the ninth Day of *February*, when indeed the King was slain the tenth Day. In chusing and refusing of the Judges, the like Severity was used; for the Murderers themselves made the Choice of the Judges, when there was no Man to take Exception against them. The Earl of *Cassiles*, willing rather to pay his Amercement, as the manner is, than to be a Judge in the Matter, when he had stood in it a while, and would not appear at the Queen's Request and Menacing; yea, though she sent her Ring for Credit both of her earnest Prayer and Threatning; at length, constrained with Fear of Exile and Punishment, he yielded. There sate the Judges, not chosen to judge, but picked out to acquit: The Cause proceeded without any Adversary. A Trial in a Matter of Life and Death, when there was never an Accuser, but suborned by the Party accused; so as a Man might well think it not the Trial of a Cause in a Court, but the playing of an Enterlude upon a Stage.

In all this fearlessness of all things, yet behold, I pray you, of what force is the Testimony of Conscience, on either side: Suddenly, unlooked for, there starteth up a young Man of the Earl of *Lenox*'s House, in whom the Respect of Duty vanquished the Fear of Danger: This young Man made an open Protestation, That the same Assembly of Judges was not lawful, because in their Proceeding, there was nothing done according to Law nor Order. At this Saying, the Judges were all stricken in such a fear, that they all, by and by, with one accord, made

made Proteſtation, with proviſo, That it ſhould not hereafter be prejudicial to them, in that they acquitted a Priſoner whom no Man accuſed, and that they had acquitted him of a Murder alledged to be committed the Ninth day of *February*, when the King was ſlain the Tenth day. This is that ſame noble Trial and Judgment, whereby *Bothwel* was not cleanſed of the Crime, but as it were waſhed with Sowters Blacking, and ſo more comely prepared to go a Wooing to wed the Queen, and ſo to become a Husband to her greater ſhame, than when he was before an Adulterer. To make up yet the full perfection and encreaſe of this jolly Acquittal, there was ſet up a Writing in the moſt notorious Place of the Court, that though *Bothwel* had by juſt Trial and Judgment been lawfully cleared and acquitted of the Murder, whereof he had been falſly accuſed, yet for more manifeſt declaration of his Innocency to the whole World, he was ready to try it in Combat, if any Man of good Fame, and a Gentleman born, would charge him with the Murder of the King.

The next day after, there was one that ſet up a Bill in open place, and offered to accept the Combat, ſo that there might for the Battle be ſuch a place appointed, wherein the party might ſafely without fear diſcloſe his Name.

While Matters and Mens Affections were in this ſtir, the Parliament aſſembled; there, after they had for eight days together, in manner done nothing but treated of reverſing the Judgment, whereby the Earl of *Huntley*'s Father had been attainted of Treaſon, and for reſtoring the Son to his Father's Poſſeſſions and Honours: There were alſo certain plauſible things granted to pleaſe the People, and eſpecially for the Church; namely, the repealing of certain Laws of Popiſh Tyranny, made for puniſhing of ſuch as durſt once mutter againſt the Decrees of the See of *Rome*. Though theſe things were acceptable among the Commonalty, yet there remained one thing which no leſs vexed the Queen, than offended the People; that is to ſay, her companying with *Bothwel*, not altogether ſo openly as ſhe would fain have had it; and yet not ſo ſecretly, but that the People perceived it; for that all Mens eyes were gazing upon them. For whereas *Bothwel* had a Wife of his own, and to tarry for a Divorce, was thought an overlong delay; and in the mean time, the Queen could neither openly avow to have him, nor ſecretly enjoy him, and yet in no wiſe could be without him; ſome ſhift, though not an honeſt one, yet a ſhift, forſooth, muſt be deviſed: And when they could not think upon a better, it ſeemed to them a marvelous fine invention, god wot, that *Bothwel* ſhould raviſh and take away the Queen by force, and ſo ſave her Honour: So within a few days after, as the Queen was returning from *Sterline*, *Bothwel* forcably took her by the way, and carried her to *Dunbar*; whether with her Will, or

againſt her Will, every Man may eaſily perceive by her own Letters, that ſhe wrote to him by the way, as ſhe was in her Journey. But howſoever it were, that the wrong of the Raviſhment might be defaced with honeſt colour of Marriage, *Bothwel*'s Wife was compelled in two Courts to ſue a Divorce againſt her Husband.

Before Judges delegate, appointed by the Queen's Authority to have Juriſdiction in ſuch Cauſes, the Wife accuſeth the Husband of Adultery, which with them was a juſt cauſe of Divorce, before Popiſh Judges, who indeed by Law were forbidden, yet by ſpecial Diſpenſation of the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, were for the hearing of this Cauſe only permitted; *Bothwel* was accuſed, that before his Marriage with his Wife, he had committed Fornication with his Wife's near Kinſwoman; howbeit, all this while they kept cloſe the Pope's Bull, by which the ſame offence was diſpenſed with. The Divorce was poſted forward without any ſlackneſs either in the Witneſſes, or in the Judges: Within the ſpace of ten days, the matter was taken in hand, began, and intended, joined unto, tried, and judged before both the Companies of Judges: When the Sentence of Divorce was given, and ſent to *Dunbar*, *Bothwel* by and by aſſembled together from all parts, all his Friends, his Servants, and Retainers, to convey to *Edinburgh* the Queen, who would then needs take upon her to be a Priſoner.

When that they were thus gathered together, the moſt part of them in Armour, by the way, as they were conducting the Queen, many of them were ſuddenly ſtricken in ſome fear, leſt in time to come, they might be charged for holding the Queen as Priſoner; and although there were no other evidence, yet this one thing would be proof enough againſt them, That in time of Peace they were found about her. While they were in this doubt, in the midſt of their Journey, they all threw away their Launces, and in more peaceable array, at leaſt in ſhew, they conveyed her to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which Caſtle was alſo at that time at *Bothwel*'s Commandment; there ſhe tarried with *Bothwel*, while the Banes were publiſhing. Then ſhe came down out of the Caſtle into the Town, to the common Aſſembly of the Judges, and there pronounced her ſelf to be free at her own liberty: And ſo at length, within eight days, ſhe finiſhed that unmatrimonial Matrimony, all good Men ſo far deteſting, or at leaſt grudgingly fore-judging the unlucky end thereof; that Monſieur *de Croc*, the *French* King's Ambaſſadour, a Man very well affectioned to the Queen, one of the Faction of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and ſojourning very near to the place, though he were earneſtly required, yet he thought he could not with his Honour be preſent at the Feaſt.

Theſe things were done about the Twenty fifth of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1567. The Twenty fifth day of *June* following, *Bothwel* being either diſmaid with a guilty Conſcience of the vile Fact, or ſent away

by the Queen, she came her self to the Lords of the Realm, who earnestly required the publick King-Murderer to be brought forth to due execution. What hath been done since, pertaineth not much to this present matter; and though my Speech have been, perhaps, longer than you looked for, yet I plainly perceive in my self, that while I seek to make an end of my Tale, I have omitted, and many things for haste I have but lightly touched, and nothing have I, according to the heinousness of the Offence, fully expressed.

An Oration, *with a* Declaration *of the Evidence against* MARY *the* Scottish *Queen; wherein is by necessary* Arguments *plainly proved, That she was guilty and privy of the said* Murder.

SEeing these things are by Writings and Witnesses so probable, and stick so fast imprinted in the knowledge of all the People, that such as would have them most hidden, cannot deny them: What place is here left for cunning, or what need can be of diligence, to prove or reprove a thing so plain and evident? For all things are so clear, so manifest, and so mutually knit together, each part to strengthen other, that there is [illegible] of foreign Probations; and all things so fully witnessed, that there is no necessity of other Arguments: For if any will ask me, as in other matters is used to be asked, the Causes of so foul a fact, I might also likewise ask of him, sith the Time, the Place, the Deed, and the Author is sufficiently known, to what purpose is it to stand upon searching the Causes, or to enquire by what Means it was atchieved? Again, when there be extant so many Causes of Hatred, and so many Tokens thereof, which do offer themselves to knowledge, as may well be able to bring even things uncertain to be believed, surely so far-fetch'd an explication of the Act committed, may right well seem superfluous. Nevertheless, forasmuch as so great is the Impudence of the vile Offenders in denying, and so confident the Boldness of impudent Persons in lying, let us stay to see with what

Weapons Truth is able to defend Innocency, againſt thoſe wicked Monſters. If then they demand the cauſe of ſo heinous a Deed, I anſwer, It was unappeaſable Hatred. I demand of them again, If they can deny that ſuch Hatred was, or that the ſame Hatred was ſo great, as without Blood could not be ſatisfied? If they deny that ſuch Hatred was, then let them anſwer me, Why ſhe, a young Woman, Rich, Noble, and finally a Queen, thruſt away from her, in a manner, the young Gentleman into exile, he being beautiful, near of ber kin, of the Blood Royal, and (that which is greateſt) entirely loving her, in the deep of ſharp Winter, into places neither fruitful of things neceſſary, nor repleniſhed with Inhabitants, and commonly perillous being haunted with Thieves? Why ſent ſhe him away into deſart and craggy Mountains, without proviſion, into open perils, and in a manner without any Company? What could ſhe more have done, if ſhe had moſt deadly hated him, and covenanted to have him diſpatched? But I trow ſhe feared no ſuch thing; but that voidneſs of Fear, I conſtrue to be a note of moſt obſtinate Hatred, eſpecially ſith ſhe both knew the places, and was not ignorant of the dangers. That Husband therefore, to whom ſhe was but lately married, againſt the Liking of her Subjects, againſt the Will of their Friends on both ſides, without whom ſhe could not endure, whom ſhe ſcarcely durſt ſuffer out of her ſight, him, I ſay, ſhe thruſteth forth to uncertain death, and moſt certain perils.

Will ye ask of me the Cauſes of the change of her Affection? What if I ſay, I knew them not? It ſufficeth for my purpoſe to prove that ſhe hated him. What if I ask again, why ſhe ſo extreamly loved the young Man whom ſhe never ſaw before? why ſhe ſo haſtily married him, and ſo unmeaſurably honoured him? Such are the natures of ſome Women, eſpecially ſuch as cannot brook the Greatneſs of their own good Fortune: They have vehement Affections both ways; they love with exceſs, and hate without meaſure; and to what ſide ſoever they bend, they are not governed by adviſed Reaſon, but carried by violent Motion. I could, out of the Monuments of Antiquity, rehearſe innumerable Examples, but of her ſelf, I had rather believe her ſelf.

Call to mind that part of her Letters to *Bothwel*, wherein ſhe maketh her ſelf *Medea*, that is, a Woman that neither in love nor hatred can keep any mean. I could alſo alledge other Cauſes of her hatred, although indeed not reaſonable Cauſes, yet ſuch as are able to ſhove forward, and to puſh headlong an outrageous Heart, which is not able to govern it ſelf.

But herein I will forbear: And if her ſelf will ſuffer me, howſoever ſhe hath deſerved of her Subjects, yet ſo much as the common Cauſe

will permit, I will ſpare her Honour; yea, I will ſpare it more than the Cauſe will allow me.

Therefore I omit her other Cauſes of Hatred, and return to this, that ſhe hated, and not meanly hated him.

Will you ſee alſo another Proof of her Hatred? The tender Wife, forſooth, ſo loving and fond of him, when ſhe could not do him the Duty of a Wife, offereth to do him the Service of a Bawd: She made choice of her own Brother's Wife, to put to him in her place.

What ſhall we think to be the Cauſe of this ſo ſuddain Change? She that, of late, gapingly ſought for every ſmall Breath of Suſpicion againſt her Husband; and where true Cauſes were not to be found, ſhe invented ſuch as were manifeſtly falſe: And this ſhe curiouſly did, not when ſhe loved him, but when ſhe had begun to hate him: And while ſhe was fiſhing for Occaſions to be divorced from him, even ſhe, I ſay, of her own accord, offereth him a Lover, declareth her own Contentation therewith, and promiſeth her Furtherance.

What can we imagine to be the Cauſe hereof? Was it to pleaſe her Husband? No, for ſhe hated him: And although ſhe loved him, yet ſuch manner of doing, in a Woman, is uncredible. Was it, that he, knowing himſelf likewiſe guilty of Adultery on his part, might ſhe more willingly bear with a Partner in uſe of his Wife? No, for he bare with all per force, againſt his Will. Was it to find Cauſe of Divorce, and ſo to drive him to leave his Bed empty for *Bothwel*? Yea, that was it, indeed, that ſhe ſought for; but yet not that alone, for in this Woman you muſt imagine no ſingle Miſchief. She hated the Earl *Murray*'s Wife, even with ſuch Hatred as all unhoneſt Perſons hate the honeſt. The differences of their two Fames much vexed her; and therewithal alſo ſhe coveted to ſet the good Lady's Husband and the King together by the Ears, and ſo rid her ſelf of two Troubles at once.

Thus you ſee how many, and how great things ſhe practiſed, to diſpatch with one Labour: Her Paramour's Enemy, the Bridler of her Licentiouſneſs, and her own hated Husband, ſhe hopeth to rid all at once; while by ſuch ſundry ſorts of wicked Doings, ſhe maketh haſte to her moſt wicked Wedding.

To what end tended that fearful haſty Calling for the Earl *Murray*, at Mid-night? Could ſhe not tarry till Day-light? What was the Occaſion of ſo ſuddain Fear? The good Woman, God wot, careful for the Concord of the Nobility, dearly loving her Brother, and moſt dearly loving her Husband, was afraid, forſooth, leſt her Brother ſhould in the Night have been aſſaulted by the King, whom ſhe her ſelf had diſarmed. Diſarmed! ſaid I? Yea, ſhe had diſfurniſhed him of all convenient Company for his Eſtate, and made him to be ſhaken up with a

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Woman's Scolding, and that by one of her own Train; one who was paſt all Shame, and of proſtitute Unchaſtity.

She feared much, leſt the young Man, deſtitute of Friends, beſet with all ſorts of Miſeries, ſhould make Aſſault in the Night-time. Upon what Perſon? The Queen's Brother, a Man of great Reputation and Power, and in higheſt Favour with all Eſtates. And where ſhould he have aſſaulted him? In a moſt ſtrong Caſtle; whereupon, the Deed being done, neither was Way for him to flee, nor Means of Refuge to the Queen's Mercy. For what Cauſe ſhould he aſſail him? There was no Enmity between them, but ſuch as ſhe had ſowed. What ſay you, if ſhe coveted that thing moſt, which ſhe moſt feigned her ſelf to fear? For, to what purpoſe elſe ſent ſhe for her Brother, to come to her in the Night-time, unarmed? Why did ſhe not adviſe him of this one thing, at leaſt; that becauſe he was to paſs by, and hard by the King's Door, he ſhould, in any wiſe, put on his Armour? Why did ſhe not, either fore-warn him of the Danger, or deferr the Calling of him till the next Morning? No, no; ſhe had a more ſubtile Purpoſe in hand. She had but newly ſent the King, inflamed (as ſhe hoped) with Hatred of the Earl *Murray*: So thought ſhe it not unlikely, but that the King, kindled with freſh Diſpleaſure, raſh by Fervour of Youth, lightly believing her by Exceſs of Love, would have adventured to ſlay his ſuppoſed Enemy, naked, unaccompanied and unarmed. So ſent ſhe the King, raging in Anger, to commit the Slaughter; and practiſed to draw the Earl *Murray* naked, unaccompanied, unwarned, to be ſuddainly trapp'd in Treaſon. This was her Meaning, this was her Deſire; but wicked Counſels, how ſubtile ſoever they be, are not always proſperous.

What meant this, that after her Deliverance of Child, at which time other Women do chiefly comfort themſelves in the Lovingneſs of their Husbands; and confeſs, that they find ſome Eaſe of Pain by ſight of them; ſhe, at the ſame time, driveth her Husband away? What elſe ſhall we ſay ſhe meant thereby, but, as the Poet ſaith, for pure Love, God wot, ſhe ſhut him out of Doors: But this tender Creature, that either ſhutteth out her Husband, or, as ſoon as he is come, chaſeth him away again; whoſe Stomach turned at the ſight of him, who is ſuddainly taken with Pangs at his preſence; when ſhe was in the Pinnace, amongſt Pirates and Thieves, ſhe could abide at the Poop, and be content to handle the boiſterous Cables. Now ask I whom ſhe loved, and whom ſhe hated? For that, at *Alo*[illegible], ſhe drove away the cumberſome Interrupter of her Paſtime; that again, when he came to her at *Edinburgh*, ſhe rejected him, I blame her not. I am content to believe, ſhe did it not for Hate to her Husband, but for her [illegible]ncy's ſake. That again, at *Jedworth*, ſhe ſuffered him not to come at

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at her, let it be born withal; for, not without Cauſe, ſhe feared, leſt the force of her Sickneſs would increaſe at ſight of him, whoſe Death ſhe ſo earneſtly deſired. That ſhe gave ſpecial Commandment, that no Man ſhould lodge him, no Man ſhould relieve him with Meat or Drink, that ſhe, in a manner, forbad him the uſe of Fire and Water: This is, undoubtedly, a Token of outrageous Hatred: But it ſeemeth, ſhe feared the very Infection of her Husband, if he were in any place near her. That ſhe ſent him back, from *Cragmillar*, to *Sterline*, I complain not; but that ſhe bereaved him of all his Neceſſaries, that ſhe took him from his Servants, that ſhe abated the Allowance of his Expences, that ſhe alienated the Nobility from him, that ſhe forbad Strangers the Sight of him, and (as much as in her lay) took from him, even while he lived, the Uſe of Heaven, Earth and Air; this, I ſay, I know not what to call it; Unnaturalneſs, Hatred, barbarous Fierceneſs, or outrageous Cruelty! That when he went from *Sterline*, ſhe took away all his Plate, let it be pardoned; for what need had he of Silver, that carried with him preſent Death in his Boſom? But this I beſeech you to conſider; what great Indignation of all Men it hath kindled, that when the King, poor Soul, made hard ſhift to live in Deſolation, Sorrow and Beggary; whilſt that *Bothwel*, like an Ape in Purple, was triumphantly ſhewed to the Ambaſſadors of Foreign Nations; even that ſame Partner of her Husband's Bed, not ſo much for the Love of himſelf, as for Deſpight of her Husband, was carried abroad, ſet out with all kind of Ornaments; even that adulterous Partner, I ſay, that neither in Birth, nor in Beauty, nor in any honeſt Quality, was in any wiſe comparable with her diſdained Husband. Now let them deny that here were Tokens of Hatred.

But how great, and how unappeaſable this Hatred was, even by this ye may gather: Her Husband ſo oft ſhut out, ſo oft ſent away with Deſpight, driven to extream Poverty, baniſhed into a deſolate Corner, far from the Court, far from the Preſence of Men, ſpoiled of his Servants and Houſhold-furniture, bereaved, in a manner, of his daily neceſſary Suſtenance; yet by no injuries can be ſhaken from her, by no fear of Death can be withdrawn; but with Serviceableneſs and Patience he aſſayeth, if not to overcome, yet, at leaſt, ſomewhat to aſſwage the violent Cruelty of her unkind Courage. In the mean time, what doth this good, gentle Wife, this merciful Queen, that is, at the beholding of Men's Miſeries, ſo kind and pitiful? Neither is ſhe once moved with the loving Doing[illegible] with the wretched Plight, nor with the miſerable Wofulneſs of her Husband, nor appeaſed by Time, nor ſatisfied with Torments; but rather, with his Serviceableneſs ſhe is irritated, with his humble Prayers ſhe is more inflamed, and at every time of his Coming ſhe deviſeth ſome new Increaſe of ſpightful Diſhonou[illegible]

Dishonour; wherein, when she had spent the uttermost of all her Force, Wit, and Bitterness of Natnre; when she saw the poor young Gentleman, neither to give over by fainting, being oppressed with Poverty; and though he were despised of all Men, and so often thrown into open Perils, neither to despair, nor otherwise, more cruelly, to make away himself; at length, as it were glutted with the sight of his Miseries and Torments, she determined presently to rid him of his Calamities, her self of Irksomness, and her Adulterer from Fear; and so by certain special Persons thereto appointed, she caused him to be poisoned, that being absent from her, he might so die with less Suspicion. But of the Poison I will say more in another Place.

When this Practice fram'd not fully to her Desire, she goeth her self to *Glascow*, that whom being absent she could not kill, she might her self in Presence satisfie both her cruel Heart, and her Eyes with sight of his present Miseries. And as if her self alone were not sufficient to execute the cruel tormenting of him, she bringeth into his Sight Ministers of her heinous doings, and his ancient natural Enemies, and with these Outrages travailed to vex his Soul at his last Breath. But wherefore gather we Arguments, as in a doubtful Case, when she her self will not suffer us to doubt at all? She, the Queen her self, I say, openly protested, not to her Lover in Bed, not amongst her Confederates in secret Chambers, nor before few and mean Persons of Estate, apt to Flattery, constrained by Poverty, or of Purpose affectioned; she her self, I say, openly confessed, That she could not live one good Day, if she were not rid of the King, and that not once, nor unadvisedly; but in Presence of those Personages, whom she used to call to Council in the weightiest Affairs. For it cannot be said unadvisedly slipped from her, that was so oft spoken, in so many, so far distant Places, with Tears always added, to move Credit, before Men notable, both for their Nobility, Weath, and Wisdom, and wherein she declared her own Opinion, practised to win their Assent, and hearkened for their Advices. But be it that she forged all these things, be it that her Tears were feigned, let them not believe it that heard it; let the greatness of the Outrage make the Report uncredible. I my self also would gladly be one of that Number, to think these things uttered by her, rather to groap the Minds of others, than that she her self so thought in her Heart, if it were not so, that the thing it self confirmeth the Report, that the Outrageousness of the doings far surmounteth all Bitterness of Utt[illegible]

When he was preparing to dep[illegible] *Glascow*, she caused Poison to be given him. You will ask, by [illegible]? In what Manner? What kind of Poisons? Where had she it? Ask you these Questions? As though wicked Princes ever wanted Ministers of their wicked Treacheries.

ries. But ſtill you preſs me perhaps, and ſtill you ask me who be theſe Miniſters? Firſt, that poiſoned he was, it is certainly known: For though the Shameleſneſs of Men would not ſtick to deny a thing ſo manifeſt; yet the kind of Diſeaſe, ſtrange, unknown to the People, unacquainted with Phyſicians, eſpecially ſuch as had not been in *Italy* and *Spain*, black Pimples breaking out over all his Body, grievous Aches in all his Limbs, and intolerable ſtink diſcloſed it. If this Cauſe were to be pleaded before grave *Cato* the Cenſor, all this were eaſie for us to prove before him that was perſwaded, that there is no Adultereſs, but the ſame is alſo a Poiſoner. Need we ſeek for a more ſubſtantial Witneſs than *Cato*, every of whoſe Sentences Antiquity eſteemed as ſo many Oracles. Shall we not in a manifeſt thing believe him whoſe Credit hath in things doubtful ſo oft prevailed? Lo here a Man of ſingular Uprightneſs, and of moſt notable Faithfulneſs and Credit, beareth Witneſs againſt a Woman burning in Hatred of her Husband, and in Love with an Adulterer, and in both theſe Diſeaſes of corrupt Affections unbridled, untemperable by her Eſtate, raging by her Power, and indulgently following the Wantonneſs of her Wealth. But let us omit old and diſcuſſed things, and let us ſever the Credit of inconſtant Multitudes from the caſe of Princes. Let us in ſo great a matter admit no Witneſs, in whom either his Eſtate may be ſuſpected, or his Manners may be blamed. What Witneſſes then ſhall we uſe? For by this Condition, we may bring forth none under the Royal Degree of a King or a Queen.

But ſuch vile Acts are not wont to be committed by Noble and good Men, but by lewd and wicked Miniſters. Howbeit that herein alſo the moſt preciſe may be ſatisfied, go to, let us bring forth a Royal Witneſs. Read her own Letter; her Letter (I ſay) written with her own Hand. What mean theſe Words? *He is not much deformed, and yet he hath received much.* Whereof hath he *received much*? The thing it ſelf, the Diſeaſe, the Pimples, the Savor do tell you. Even that *much* he received, that brought Deformity, Forſooth, very Poiſon. But her Letters name not Poiſon. This is ſufficient for me, that it is there ſaid, that *though he received much, he is not much deformed*, or, *though he be not much deformed, yet he received much.* What meaneth this Word *yet*? What elſe but this, That whatſoever it was that he received, the ſame was the Cauſe of his Deformity, which though it were much, yet was it not ſo much as to work ſuch Deformity as was deſired. But be it, it was not Poiſon, What then was it elſe? You can find nothing that can [illegible] Convenience of Reaſon be named in Place of it. Finally, whatſoever it be that is meant by this Word *much*, it is ſuch, as ſhe her ſelf, in ſo ſecret and familiar a Letter, dare not call by the right Name. Yea, and though we would ſhift it off by

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cavillous Expounding; yet she her self will not suffer us. Compare that which went before with that which followeth, and by her Device and Purpose for time to come, ye shall easily understand, what it is that she hath done in time past. First, she saith, it is needful, that he be *purged*; then she determineth to carry him to *Cragmillar*, where both the Physicians, and (which is more dangerous than any Physician) she her self may be present. Finally, she asketh Council of *Bothwel*, whether he can devise any secreter way by Medicine, than that at *Cragmillar*, and after a *Bath*. See how all things hang together. *He hath received much, he must be purged*, and at *Cragmillar*; that is, in a desolate Corner, in a Place, by Reason of small Resort, very apt for a Mischief to be committed. And *Medicine he must use*, and what, forsooth? Even the same whereof he had before received much. How shall that appear? She will have the manner of ministring the Medicine to be secret. If it be to heal him, what needs that Secrecy? Why is it not administred openly, in a known and Populous Place? Now he is eased of his Sickness, lusty and healthy, why is he purged in an unusual manner, and in an uninhabited Corner? But perhaps it was a strange kind of Disease, it had need of strange Remedies. What Physicians then called she to Counsel? To whom is this Charge committed to seek out a new Medicine and curing for the King? Forsooth, to the King's Enemy, to the Queen's Adulterer, the vilest of all two-footed Beasts, whose House was in *France* defamed for poisoning, and whose Servants were there for the same Cause, some tortured, some imprisoned, and all suspected. When was he appointed to receive this Noble Medicine? Either at his Bathing, where he should wash alone, or after his Bathing, where he should sup alone. So, forsooth, are Medicines accustomed to be provided by Enemies, in a secret Place, without Witnesses. That therefore while an Adulterer, an Adulteress, and the Partner of his Wives Body, curiously prepareth, and secretly ministreth; what Medicine this is, let every Man with himself weigh and consider. By this time, I suppose, you see the Hatred of the Queen, how unappeaseable, how outrageously cruel, how obstinate it was against her Husband, whom she thrust among Thieves, whom she practised to match in Feud and Battel with the Nobility and with her Brethren; who were both naked and poor, loden with Despights, vexed with Railings, assailed with Poison; she drove him away into a solitary Corner, there to die with the extremest Torment. Now let us proceed to the other Causes.

This Hatred it self was of it self sufficient to prick her forward to her Enemies Slaughter, often sought, once attempted, and almost atchieved. Yet was there besides, a stronger Enforcement, it self able to enflame her Hatred, I mean the Love wherewith she intemperately

fanſied *Bothwel*: Which Love, whoſoever ſaw not, and yet hath ſeen him, will perhaps think it incredible. For what was there in him, that was of a Woman of any honeſt Countenance to be deſired? Was there any Gift of Eloquence? Or Grace of Beauty? Or Virtue of Mind, garniſhed with the Benefits, which we call, of Fortune? As for his Eloquence and Beauty, we need not ſay much, ſith they that have ſeen him can well remember both his Countenance, his Gate, and the whole Form of his Body how gay it was: They that have heard him, are not ignorant of his rude Utterance and Blockiſhneſs. But you will ſay, he was in executing Attempts, wiſe and politick; in adventuring of Perils, hardy and valiant, in free giving, liberal; in uſe of Pleaſures, temperate. For Wiſdom, even they that be moſt affectionate unto him, dare not charge him with it. Of Valiantneſs indeed he laboured to win ſome Eſtimation; but among Horſe-men, on a ſwift Steed well mounted, well provided for his own ſafety, a Beholder of other Men's Fighting, ſometime hardly chaſing them that fled, but his Face toward him near at Hand, he never durſt abide. Will ye have an Example of his excellent valiantneſs? Of a Thief, a notable Coward, whom being yielded, and unawares he had deadly wounded, he was thrown down to the Ground, hurt, bruiſed with dry Strokes, and had been quite ſlain; if the poor Thief's Strength, being ready to die, had not failed him. I could rehearſe his glorious, vain Braggeries in *France*, I could tell of his laſt fearful Flight as far as to *Denmark*. But I had rather rub up the Remembrance of that Day, when the Queen forſaking him, came to the Nobility that proteſted to revenge the Slaughter of the King. The Armies ſtood ready in Array, *Bothwel* in Number of Men was equal, in Place had the Advantage: There ſtood before him, to be his Reward being Vanquiſher, a Queen much fanſying, and entirely loving him; a Kingdom, Wealth, and Honour, for him, and his Poſterity; moreover, Impunity for his Offences paſt, extreme Liberty to do what he liſt for time to come; Ability to advance his Friends, and be revenged of his Enemies; and on the other ſide, if he were vanquiſhed, Diſhonour, Poverty, and Baniſhment; Finally, all things, that thereafter happened or hereafter may happen, were then before his Eyes. There were alſo preſent beſide the two Armies, Beholders and Witneſſes of each Man's Valiantneſs and Cowardice, the Queen, the Price of the Battle, and *Mounſieur de Croc*, the Embaſſador of *France*. Now you look to hear how this Magnifical Boaſter of Valiantneſs did acquit himſelf. Firſt, being mounted upon an excellent Horſe, he came bravely forth before the Army. There the Man, forſooth, very ſparing of his Country-mens Blood, and laviſh of his own, calleth for one to try it with him by Combat, Man to Man. And when there were many on the other ſide of honourable Birth

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and Eſtates, that offered to accept the Combat, by and by, his violent Heat cooled, and his glorious Speech quailed: and had it not been that the Queen, as it were ſome God, out of a Gin in a Tragedy, had by her Authority taken up the Matter, and forbidden her pretty venereous Pidgeon to give Battel, he had failed to find, not only a mean, but alſo an honeſt Colour to refuſe to fight. And ſo the Combat was interrupted; yet in the joined Battel, he behaved himſelf ſo valiantly, forſooth, the firſt Man, almoſt at the Beginning, and alone, he ran his way, and ſo at length drew the reſt of his Part to flee after him.

But for his Defaults in Martial Feats, perhaps the Man was ſupplied with Civil Vertues: Alas! what were they? or what Vertues could be looked for in him? A Man for the moſt part brought up in the Biſhop of *Murray*'s Palace, to wit, a moſt wicked corrupt Houſe, in Drunkenneſs and Whoredoms, amongſt moſt vile Miniſters of diſſolute miſorder. After that he was grown towards Man's eſtate, at Dice and among Harlots, he ſo waſted a moſt goodly large Revenue of his Inheritance, that (as the Poet ſaith) *At his need he had not left wherewith to buy him a Halter to hang himſelf.* He, I ſay, that defiled not only other Mens Houſes with Cuckoldry, but alſo his own with inceſtuous Villainy.

This Man therefore, when I ſay to have been beloved of the Queen, and not only loved, but alſo outrageouſly and intemperately loved; they that know it not, will peradventure think that I tell wonders. But ſome Men perhaps will ſay, Was there none other in all the Troop of the Youth of Nobility beſide him, more worthy to be beloved? Certainly there were very many: And one there was, in all things that were wont to allure Love, of all other moſt excellent, even her own Husband. What was it then that joined ſo unequal Love, and ſo far againſt Reaſon? If I ſhall ſay it was likeneſs of Conditions, I ſhall name a likely cauſe of Love, though to ſome Men perchance, it may ſeem an untrue cauſe of their Love; neither am I willing to enter into that Diſcourſe; neither do I affirm the Rumours ſpread of her in *France*, in time of her firſt Marriage; howbeit, the Wickedneſſes of the reſt of her Life, make ſome proof that they roſe not all of nothing; and many things that have been noiſed of her ſince her return into *Scotland*, I have no mind to believe; as for my part I am content they be buried in forgetfulneſs, or if that cannot be, let them be taken for falſe and feigned: Neither is it neceſſary over curiouſly to examine Cauſes in Love, which is uſually ſo carried with a raſh violent motion of a muddy and troubled Mind, that for the moſt part it endeth in madneſs; which if ye labour to govern by diſcreet Advice, ye do nothing elſe but as if ye ſhould endeavour to be mad with Reaſon. But yet here there want no Cauſes, for there was in them both a Likeneſs, if not of Beauty, nor outward things, nor of Vertues, yet of moſt extream Vices. She a young Woman, ſuddenly advanced

to the highest Degree of Authority, when she had never seen with her Eyes, heard with her Ears, nor considered in her Heart the form of a Kingdom governed by Law, and thereto was furnished with the untemperate Counsels of her Kinsmen, who themselves practised to set up a Tyrannous Rule in *France*, endeavoured to draw Right, Equity, Laws, and Customs of Ancestors to her only beck and pleasure.

Of this immoderate desire, there burst out from her many times, many words disclosing it; this she studied day and night. But against this Desire, there withstood the Custom of the Country, the Laws and Statutes, and principally the Consent of the Nobility, who remaining safe, she could never attain it. To the end therefore that she might be able violently to atchieve it, she determined by force to remove all that stood in her way; but she wist not well by what means or by whose help to attempt it.

Fraud was the way to work it, for otherwise it was not possible to be obtained: For this purpose therefore *Bothwel* only seemed the fittest Man, a Man in extream poverty, doubtful whether he were more vile or wicked; and who between factions of sundry Religions, despising both sides, counterfeited a love of them both: He, when he had once before offered the *Hamilton*'s his service to murder the Earl *Murray*, gave thereby a likelihood, that upon hope of greater gain, he would not stick to adventure some greater Enterprize, being one whom the Ruine of his own decayed Family, prick'd forward headlong to mischief, and whom no respect of Godliness or Honesty restrained from ungracious Actions. As for excessive and immoderate use of Lechery, he therein no less sought to be famous, than other Men do shun Dishonour and Infamy. She therefore, a Woman greedily coveting untempered Authority, who esteemed the Laws her Prison, and the Bridle of Justice her Bondage, when she saw in her Husband not mettle enough to trouble the State, she pick'd out a Man for her purpose, who neither had Wealth to lose, nor Fame to be stained, even such an one as she might easily overthrow again, if she should once grow weary of him; such a one as she might easily snare his Incontinence, with wanton Allurements, satisfie his need with Money, and bind his Affections to her with a guilty Conscience and Confederate in Mischiefs: These be the Fountains of that fame, not unmeasurable, but mad Love, infamous Adultery, and vile Parricide, wherewith, as with a Pledge, that bloody Marriage was plighted. These therefore were the causes of enterprizing that heinous Act, to wit, unappeasable Hatred of her Husband, and intemperate Love of her Adulterer. There was moreover a hope, that the Crime might be diverted from them to others, and the execution for it might be laid upon the poor Lives of their Enemies, and that Men most guiltless of the fault, might be thrust in their place,

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as Sacrifices to appease the Peoples displeasure; if not, to what end then served that Battel, which was almost begun to be fought between the King and the Lord *Robert* her Brother? To what end tended those Seeds of Discord that were scattered between the King and the Nobility? Wherefore did she so curiously intreat the Earl *Murray* to stay with her the day before the Murther was committed? or what cause was there to send for him? There was an Ambassadour come out of *Savoy*; For what cause? surely it must needs be a great Cause, and such as could not be ended without the assembly of the Nobility: no, god wot; the Ambassadour of *Savoy* being bidden too late to the Christening, came when all was ended, not for Ambassadour to the Christening, but as one sent to excuse the neglecting of doing that Kindness, when both he liked not to send so far for so small a matter; and he was somewhat ashamed to have failed in presence, when the *French*-men and *English*-men had already done it. For the more honourable dismissing of him, the Earl *Murray* was sent for, and that with sundry Messengers, to come from his Wife that lay a dying: What need was there then of his presence? To draw him to be a party in Conspiracy of the Slaughter? Why, was it never attempted before? Thought they it best at the last point, at the very instant when the Murder should be committed, to join him to their Fellowship, as a light Man, inconstant, and shifting his Purposes at every moment of time; infamous in his former Life, and not well assured in his present Estate? No, there is none of these things that they yet dare say of him. Seeing then they cannot imagine a false Cause to stay him, what was the true cause indeed, every Man may easily gather; even the same that caused first the Earl of *Athole*, and afterwards him to depart from the Court; the same that so brought him in danger of Death; the same that had slandered him with false Rumours scattered in *England*; the same that persecuted him with infamous Libels of the Murderers themselves; the same that made him to chuse rather to go into Banishment, than to remain in Court among Ruffians Weapons, with great peril of his Life.

But what availeth this Equity of the Cause before Hearers, either utterly ignorant of the matter how it was done, or of themselves disfavouring this part, are envious, or apt to be carried away with feigned Rumours, which esteem the Slanders of most lewd light Persons, for true Testimonies, and give credit to these Men, who boasting, at home, that they are able to do what they list, yet neither dare commit their Cause to the Sentence of the Judges, nor were able to defend themselves in Battel: And as by a guilty Conscience of Offences they feared Judgment, so by Rage, grown of their Guiltiness, they run headlong to Battel, and from Battel run cowardly away: And now again, when abiding upon the Advantage that they have both in number and wealth,

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they scorn the Wisdom of their Adversaries, and despise their Power in comparison of their own; yet distrusting to prevail by true Manhood, they fall to Robbery, and turn their ungracious Minds to Slandering, Cavelling, and Lying, whom but yet for the good will that I bear to my Country-men, I would advise to cease from this folly, or fury, or disease of evil-speaking, lest in time to come, when Truth shall shine out, they shut up and stop with hatred of them those Persons Ears to their Petitions, whom now they fill and load with false Rumours, for there will not always be place for forgiveness, but as Darkness at the Sunshining, so Lyes at the Light of Truth must vanish away.

As for the commodious means for committing that vile fact, and the hope of hiding it, I need not to pursue the declaring of them in many words, sith both the easiness to do it, the opportunities of places, and all advancements of occasions and seasons were in their own power: And to hide the Fact, what needed they, when they feared no punishment although it were published? For what Punishment could they fear in so strong a Conspiracy, when both the force of Laws, whereof themselves were Governours, was utterly extinguished, and the Minds of the most part of Men were either snared with partnership of the mischievous Fact, or carried with Hope, or Forestalled with Rewards, or discouraged and bridled with Fear of so great a Power on the other part? But howsoever this be, yet it will be good to see throughly both the order of the doing, the unadvisedness, inconstancy, and end of their Devices: For thereby shall ye perceive, that there wanted not desire to hide the Fact, but that the fury of a distracted Mind, overthrew all the Order of their Counsels, while sometime, as desirous to beguile publick Fame, they endeavoured to keep close their intended Mischief, yet they dealt therein so openly, as careless of their Estimation; they seemed to make small account how Men judged of their Doings: For at his preparing to go to *Glasgow*, the Poison was given him secretly, and they thought they had sufficiently well provided that he should in his absence from them, be consumed with pining sickness: But the rest of their Dealings toward him, were so cruelly handled, that though his Disease should have happened to be natural, yet it would have been suspected for poisoning: For her her Husband, the Father of her only and first-born Child; the Father, I say, of that Son, whose Christening was solemnized with that great Pomp and Glory, being escaped away, in a manner, naked out of his House flaming in fire, tormented by the way with grievous pain, when he lay at *Glasgow*, of a dangerous sickness, likely to die: What did his excellent good Wife the while? What did she? At the first news of it, did she haste to him in post? Doth she with her Presence, with her friendly familiar Speech, or with her loving Countenance comfort him in sickness? When she cannot stay him in Life, cometh she to receive his last Breath?

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Cloſeth ſhe his Eyes at his dying? Doth ſhe the other kind Duties of honeſt Matrons? No: But ſhe that had now let him eſcape, to go and die, and hoped that he could not linger out his unhappy Life much longer, ſhe goeth a quite contrary way, into another Country, in progreſs; and, with her fair *Adonis*, ſhe viſiteth Noble-men's Houſes, and ſtaineth the Houſes that harboured them, with the Spots of their Unchaſtities; and juſt about the time of her Husband's Death (as ſhe gueſſed by the ſtrength and working of the Poiſon) ſhe returns to *Sterline*. When the Matter wrought not ſo faſt as ſhe expected, for the Strength of his Youth had wreſtled with the Soreneſs of his Pain, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeem to have altogether forſaken her Duty, ſhe daily prepares to go to *Glaſcow*, but never goeth. At the laſt, diſappointed of the Hope that ſhe had conceived in her Heart, ſhe taketh her ſelf to other Devices. She cometh to *Edinburgh*, and there calleth to Counſel her Adulterer, and a few other, privy of thoſe Secrets: There they decree, that in any wiſe the King muſt be ſlain; yet were they not fully adviſed, with what kind of Death he ſhould be murthered; which may eaſily be gathered by her Letter, wherein ſhe partly compareth her ſelf to *Medea*, a bloody Woman, and a poiſoning Witch: Alſo by another of her Letters, wherein ſhe asketh Advice about the Poiſoning of him. The King, who had already taſted of her lovely Cup, doubting whether he were better any more to believe her flattering Speeches or to fear the ſhrewdneſs of her Nature; though ſometimes he deſpaired not of her Reconciliation, yet was evermore fearful and ſuſpicious; but when he ſaw that neither his Life nor his Death were in his Power, he was conſtrained to purſe up his paſſed Injuries, to diſſemble his preſent Fear, and to feign himſelf ſome Hopes for time to come. So was he led out, not as a Husband, but carried out as a Coarſe; or rather, drawn, as it were, to the Shambles. The Queen, glorioufly ſhewing her ſelf in pompous manner, goeth before, in Triumph over the young Gentleman, vexed with all kind of Miſeries, tormented with Poiſon, entrapped with Treaſons, and drawn to Execution. There follows after the triumphant Carr, the ancient Enemies to his Father's Houſe, brought thither on purpoſe, that they alſo might feed their Eyes with that woful Spectacle; and whoſe Death, at hand, they looked for, they might in the mean time take pleaſure of the Sorrow of his Heart. And that no Ceremony of ſolemn Sacrifices might be wanting, *John Hamilton* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, was preſent, as their Prieſt; a Man before defiled with all kind of Wickedneſs, pamper'd with the Spoils and Murthers of his Country-men, an old Conqueror of many murthering Victories. The People, all along the Way, looking pitiouſly, ſhewed a Fore-telling of no good Luck to come: The Queen's Companions could neither tell their Sadneſs, nor hide their Gladneſs, when the heinous Outrage of

the vile Fact intended held their unmeasurable Joy in suspence, upon expectation of the Success. Thus led they him to *Edinburgh*, not into the Queen's Palace. Why so? Lest the Infection of the pestilent Disease, forsooth, might hurt her young Son: As though they that be poisoned, were also to be shunn'd, for fear of Infection. But the truer Cause was this, lest his Presence should trouble them, in interrupting their free enjoying their Pleasures, and their Consultations about his Murther. Whither then is he led? Into the most desolate part of the Town, some time inhabited, while the Popish Priests Kingdom lasted; but for certain Years past, without any Dweller; in such an House as, of it self, would have fallen down, if it had not been botched up for the time, to serve the turn of this Night's Sacrifice. Why was this place chiefly chosen? They pretended the wholsomness of the Air. O good God! Going about to murther her Husband, seeketh she for a wholsom Air? To what use? Not to preserve his Life, but to reserve his Body to Torment. Here to tend her wisely diligent Attendance, and her last Care of her Husband's Life, she feareth lest he should, by Prevening Death, be delivered from pain; she would fain have him feel himself die. But let us see what manner of wholsomness of Air it is. Is it among dead Men's Graves, to seek the preserving of Life? For hard by there were the Ruins of two Churches; on the East side, a Monastery of *Dominick* Friars; on the West, a Church of our Lady; which, for the desolateness of the place, is called, *The Church in the Field*; on the South side, the Town-Wall, and in the same, for commodious passage every way, is a Postern-door; on the North side are a few Beggars Cottages, ready to fall, which some time served for Stews for certain Priests and Monks; the name of which place doth plainly disclose the form and nature thereof, for it is commonly called *Thieves Lane*. There is never another House near, but the *Hamilton*'s House, which is about a Stone's cast distant; and that also stood void. Thither removeth the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, who always before was used to lodge in the most populous parts of the Town: He also watched all that Night that the King was slain. Now I beseech you, sith you cannot with your Eyes, yet, at least, with your Minds, behold an House, lately of old Priests, among Graves, between the Ruins of two Temples; it self also ruinous, near to the Thieves haunt, and it self a Receiver of Thieves; not far from the Fort and Garrison of his Enemies, that stood right over against the Door; by which, if any Man should flee out, he could not escape their traiterous Ambushment. The very shape of this place, when you consider it in your Mind, when you hear of the Ruins of Churches, Graves of dead Men, lurking Corners of Thieves, Brothel-houses of Harlots; doth not, I say, not the House only, but also every part near about it, seem to proclaim Mischief and Treachery? Seemeth here a

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King to have gone into an House for Lodging, or to be thrust into a Den of Thieves? Was not that desolate Wasteness, that uninhabited place, able of it self to put simple Men in fear, to make wiser Men suspicious, and to give wicked Men shrewd Occasions? What meant his Enemies unwonted Repair into those Parts, and watching all Night, in a manner, hard at his Gate? Why chose he now this place for his Lodging, against his former usage? The House, ye will say, was empty, and his Brother's House, and near to the King's Lodging. It was empty long before; Why lodged you never there before? Why forsook you the populous places in the Heart of the City, and nearness to the Court; and thrust your self into a desolate Corner? What Profit, what Commodity, what Pleasure herein respect you? Was it your meaning, that you being one that ever had been a greedy Coveter of popular Fame, and Catcher of Courtiers with Baits of good Chear, now would, of your own accord, go hide your self in a blind Hole, out of all Company and Resort? That you, rather overwhelmed than laden with plenty of Benefices, went thither to delight your Heart in the Ruin of Temples? But be it that your coming thither was but by Chance, and that you had some Causes to go thither; though not true, yet somewhat likely.

What meant your unwonted watching all Night? What meant the fearful murmuring of your Servants that Night, whom yet, in that publick Tumult, you commanded, not once to stir out of Doors? But what Cause had they to go out? Was it to have Understanding of the Matter, whereof your self were an Author and Deviser? No; for, out of your own Watch-Tower, you heard with your Ears the Noise of the Ruin, you saw the Smoak and Ashes with your Eyes, you drunk up the Joy thereof in your Heart, and the Savour, or the Gun-powder, you, in a manner, snuffed up at your Nose. Perhaps you meant to send out some to receive them that fled; but you saw no Man flee; and therefore the Lights that were seen out of the highest part of your House, all the Night long, were, as upon the lucky ending of the thing that you looked for, even then suddainly put out.

But let us return to the King. They thought it not enough to have set open the Postern in the Wall, to let in Thieves thereat; nor to have set an Ambush before the Door, that none should escape; but also they kept with themselves the Keys of two Doors; the one of the lower Room, where they had undermined the Wall, and filled the holes with Gun-powder; and the other of the upper Room, that the Murtherers might come to the King, in his Bed: Then of those few Servants that he had, they withdrew the greater number, being such as were before set about him; not so much to do him Service, as to be Spies of

his Secrets, and carry News to the Queen. The last that was left, one *Alexander Durain*, when he could find no reasonable Excuse to depart, was thrust out by the Queen her self: She, in the mean time, meaning not to fail in playing her part, while *Bothwel* is in preparing the tragical Stage for the Murther, daily visiteth the King. His Heart, passioned with Love, sometimes she comforteth with sweet Promises, sometimes she vexeth with Brawlings, and still keepeth his Wit occupied with Suspicions, and rightly representeth in Action, the Poet's Fable; wherein is feigned, that *Prometheus*'s Liver, daily growing to invent new Torments, is daily knawn and preyed upon by an Eagle: For, after the very same manner, sometimes she cherisheth and refresheth the silly young Gentleman, to no other End, but that he may have Life remaining, to suffer more Sorrows.

Now, I beseech you every one, think with your selves, upon the fresh doing of the Fact, how Men's Hearts were moved; when, even now, these things cannot be heard reported, without Indignation. There was provided by the most wicked Man in the World, by his Enemy, by his Wife's Adulterer, an House, in a manner, severed from all Concourse of People; fitter for a Slaughter-house, than for Man's Dwelling: It is provided for a young Gentleman, unprovident by Youth, easie to be trapped in Treason by Love, spoiled of his Servants, forsaken of his Friends; An House (I say) torn, solitary on every side; not also unclose, but open to pass through, the Keys thereof in his Enemies Custody, no Man left within but a young Man not yet recovered of Sickness, and an old Man feeble by Age, and two Strangers unacquainted with the Places, Matter and Persons; no Man dwelling near, but his Enemies and Thieves. But as for danger of Thieves, the good fore-casting Woman had well provided; for she had left him nothing to allure a Thief withal: And as for his Enemies, she had appointed them to be but Lookers on, and not Part-players in this Tragedy; but the Glory of the Fact she reserved to her self and *Bothwel*.

What, in the mean time, doth the Queen's great Carefulness? What meaneth her unwonted Resort? What her malicious, and not obsequious Diligence? She visiteth him daily, she prolongeth her Talk with him many Hours together, two Nights she resteth in a lower Chamber under him (if guilty Conscience of most heinous Doings can, from Torments of Furies, suffer that outrageous Heart to rest at all.) She feared much, lest, if the lower place of the House were left empty, the noise of the Underminers working, and of the Bringers in of the Powder, should bring some of the Servants into some suspicion of Treachery. Beside, she had a mind to see the thing done her self, rather than to commit it to the Trust of any other. She had a desire to take a Foretaste of the Joy to come; and when she could not with her Ears, yet,

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at leaſt with her Heart, to conceive afore-hand the Fire, the Smoke, the Powder, the Crack of the Houſe falling, the fearful Trouble, the Tumult, the confuſed Diſmayedneſs of the Doers, the Thieves, and the People. All things thus prepared for that doleful Night, then entereth ſhe into the laſt Care of her good Fame: ſhe endeavoureth to divert all Suſpicions from her, ſhe goeth to her Husband, ſhe kiſſeth him, ſhe giveth him a Ring for Pledge of her Love, ſhe talketh with him more lovingly than ſhe was wont to do, and promiſeth more largely, ſhe feigneth that ſhe had great Care of his Health, and yet her companying with her Adulterer ſhe ſurceaſeth not.

They that more nearly noted theſe things, prognoſticated no good thing to come. For how much the greater Tokens that the Queen ſhewed of reconciled Affection, ſo much the more Cruelty did every Man in his Heart fore-conceive of all her Intentions. For elſe whence cometh that ſudden Change, ſo great Care for him, whom ſhe had poiſoned the Month before, whom even lately ſhe not only wiſhed dead, but deſired to ſee him die, whoſe Death ſhe ſet her Brother, yea, both her Brethren to procure; and ſhe, like a Maſter of Miſchief, thruſt forth the King to fight, and her ſelf in the mean time prepared for his Burial? Not paſt a few Months before, ſhe her ſelf was deſirous to die, becauſe ſhe loathed to ſee the King alive. Whence cometh now this ſudden Care of his Health? I looked ſhe ſhould ſay, ſhe was reconciled to him. Were you reconciled to your Husband, whom you ſent away into that Deſart, that Camp of Furies, as the Poet calleth it? For whom, among Brothel-houſes of Harlots, among Beggars Cottages, among Thieves lurking-holes, you prepared a Houſe ſo open to paſs through, that you left therein more Entries than Men to ſhut them? you that allured and aſſembled Ruffians to his Slaughter, and Thieves to his Spoil? You that drove away his Servants that ſhould have defended his Life? You that thruſt him out naked, alone, unarmed, among Thieves, in danger to be ſlain? When in all this miſerable State of your Husband, your Adulterer in the mean time dwelt in your Palace, daily haunted your Chamber, Day and Night all Doors were open for him, whilſt your poor Husband, debarred all Company of the Nobility, his Servants forbidden to come at him, or ſent away from him, was forſaken and thruſt away into a ſolitary Deſart, for a mocking-Stock, and I would to God, it had been for a mocking-Stock only? Of his other Servants I enquire not. I do not curiouſly queſtion why they went away, why they then eſpecially forſook the King, when he chiefly needed their Help and Service; when he was newly recovered; When he began to go abroad, and had no other Company. Of *Alexander Durain* I cannot keep Silence, whom you had for his Keeper, and your Spy. What was there for him to eſpy? Was there any thing for him to bring News

of, to an honeſt Matron, loving to her Husband, faithful in Wedlock, and fearful of a Partner of his Love? Feared ſhe, leſt he, a young Gentleman, beautiful, and a King, ſhould caſt wanton Eyes upon ſome other Woman in her Abſence? No, God wot; for that was it that ſhe moſt deſired; for ſhe her ſelf had practiſed to allure him thereto before, ſhe her ſelf had offered him the Occaſions, and of her ſelf ſhewed him the means. This was it that moſt grieved her, while ſhe was ſeeking Cauſes of Divorce, that ſhe could not find in him ſo much as any ſlender Suſpicion of Adultery. Why then were Spies ſet about him to watch him? Was it not that none of the Nobility, none of his Servants, nor any Stranger at all ſhould come at him, that no Man ſhould ſpeak with him, that might diſcloſe the Treaſon, and forewarn him of his Danger? This ſame very *Alexander*, how carefully ſhe ſaveth, when ſhe goeth about to kill her Husband? How late ſhe ſendeth him away, when the reſt were gone, even at the very Point of her Husband's Death, when ſhe had now no more need of Eſpials? For the day before the Murder was committed there was none of the Miniſters that were privy to her ſecret Councils left behind, but only *Alexander*. He, when he ſaw that Night, no leſs doleful than ſhameful, to approach, prepareth, as himſelf thought a fine ſubtil Excuſe to be abſent, ſo as rather Chance might ſeem to have driven him out, than he himſelf willing to have forſaken his Maſter. He putteth Fire in his own Bed-ſtraw, and when the Flame ſpread further, he made an out-cry, and threw his Bedding, half-ſinged, out of the King's Chamber. But the next day, when that Excuſe ſerved not ſo handſomly as he deſired, for that in the Queen's hearing, the King very ſweetly entreated him not to leave him alone that Night, and alſo deſired him to lie with himſelf, as he had often uſed to do, for the King entirely loved him above all the reſt; *Alexander* in Perplexity, wanting what to anſwer, added to his firſt Excuſe, Fear of Sickneſs; and pretended, that for commodious taking of Phyſick for his Health, he would lie in the Town. When this would not yet ſerve him, the Queen added her Authority, and told the King, That he did not well to keep the young Man with him againſt the Order of his Health; and therewithal ſhe turned to *Alexander*, and bade him go where was beſt for him: And forthwith, as ſoon as the Word was ſpoken, he went his Way. I will not here preciſely trace out all the Footings of theſe wicked doings; neither will I curiouſly enquire, whether that former Day's Fire were happened by Caſualty, or kindled by Fraud. Neither will I ask why he that had ſo often been received to lie in the King's own Bed, doth now this only Night eſpecially refuſe it. Let us ſuppoſe that Sickneſs was the Cauſe thereof. This only one thing I ask, what kind of Sickneſs it was, that came upon him at that very inſtant, and before Morning left him again, without

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any Phyſicians help; and whereof, neither before, nor ſince, nor at that preſent, there ever appeared any Token? But I truſt, though he hold his Peace, ye all ſufficiently underſtand it. In the Man guilty in Conſcience of the miſchievous Intention, Fear of Death overcame Regard of Duty, Had it not been that *Alexander*, before time a Spy, and Tale-bearer, now a Forſaker and Betrayer of his Maſter, was joined to her in Privity of all theſe wicked doings, would not the Queen, ſo cruel in all the reſt, have found in her Heart to beſtow that one Sacrifice upon her Husbands Funerals? While theſe things were in doing, the Night was far paſt, and my Lady *Rereſe*, a luſty, valiant Souldiereſs, before Sign given, cometh forth into the Field, out of Array; abroad ſhe goeth, getteth her to Horſe-back, and though ſhe were ſomewhat afraid, as one that foreknew the Storm to come; yet ſhe ſate ſtill upon her Horſe, tarrying for the Queen, but yet a good pretty way from the Houſe. In the mean time *Paris* cometh. Then the Communication brake, and they roſe to depart. For, by and by, upon ſight of him came to her Remembrance that heinous Offence, that without great Propitiations could not be purged, forſooth; that the Queen had not danced at the Wedding-feaſt of *Sebaſtion* the Minſtrel and vile Jeſter; that ſhe ſate by her Husband, who had not yet fully recovered his Health; that at the Banquet of her Domeſtical Paraſite, ſhe had not played the dancing Skit. A matter ſurely worthy of Excuſe. But what ſhould ſhe elſe do? She muſt needs go, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw *Paris*; for ſo it was agreed, and ſomewhat muſt needs be pretended. How happened it that the other Nights before, when ſhe went away earlier, ſhe made no Excuſe at all, and now her Departure about Midnight, muſt needs have an Excuſe alledged? But be it ſo, Could ſhe remember no better Excuſe than *Sebaſtians* Wedding? No, no, I ſay to the contrary; that if ſhe had left the Wedding of her own natural Body, or her Siſter, to viſit her Husband, though but a little crazed, ſhe had had a juſt Excuſe before all Men ſo to do. What if ſhe had done the ſame Kindneſs for the King, being not her Husband, or for any other of the Nobility. Is *Sebaſtian*'s Wedding of ſuch a Value, that a Masking-Dance thereat is to be preferred before a Wife's Duty and Love? But ſurely in this curious excuſing and pretended Sorrow of neglected Duty, ſomewhat lieth hidden; and yet not ſo hidden, but that it appeareth through the Cloſure.

This over-much Preciſeneſs of Diligence, excuſing where no need is, hath ſome Suſpicion of ſome ſecret Miſchief that you are loath to have diſcloſed, and the Slightneſs of the Excuſe, encreaſeth the Suſpicion, eſpecially when there were other Matters enough that ſhe might better have alleged. But let us admit the Excuſe, ſince the

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Queen her ſelf hath thought it reaſonable. Whither then goeth ſhe? Straight into her Chamber. What doth ſhe next? Wearied with the Days Travel, and the Nights watching, goeth ſhe to Bed? No, but ſhe falleth to talking with *Bothwel*, firſt, almoſt alone, and afterward alone altogether. What Talk ſhe had, the Matter it ſelf declareth. For *Bothwel*, after that he had put off, his Cloths, as if he would have gone to Bed, by and by putteth on other Apparel, going to do the Deed, he would not be known. I like well the Man's Policy. But his Way was to go through the Watch. Here I marvel at his Madneſs. But Men's Wits beſet with Guiltineſs of Miſchiefs, do commonly bewray themſelves by their own Inconſtancy; and blind to all other things, do ſee only that which they have bent their Mind unto. What he did, the King's Death, his own running away, the Confeſſion of the guilty Perſons, and other things that followed the Murder, do declare. After the great Uproar in the Town about it, he, as one utterly ignorant of all, returneth through the ſame Watch to Bed. When Noiſe of the Ruine had filled all Men's Ears, and the Crack of it had ſhaken all the Houſes, only the Queen, intentive to Expectation of the Chance, and broad awake, heareth nothing at all, and *Bothwel* heareth nothing. O marvellous Deafneſs! All other throughout the Town, as many as were awake, were afraid, and as many as ſlep'd were awaked. At the laſt *Bothwel* riſeth again, and in the ſelf ſame Enterlude, by ſuddenly ſhifting from the Poet, becometh a Meſſenger, he runneth to the Queen, and thither reſorteth many others alſo that lodged in the Palace. To ſome the Matter ſeemed true, to ſome feigned, to ſome marvellous. What doth the Queen the whilſt? What ſhould ſhe do? She temperately brooded good Luck, ſhe reſteth ſweetly till the next Day at Noon. Yet the Day following, to obſerve Decorum and comely Convenience in her Part, without marring the Play, ſhe counterfeiteth a Mourning, which yet neither her Joyfulneſs dwelling withall in Heart, ſuffereth long to be feigned, nor Shame permitteth to be wholly neglected. Theſe things thus lying open before your Eyes, thus palpable with Hands, thus faſt imprinted in Men's Ears and Knowledge, ſtand we yet enquiring for the Author of the Murder, as though it were doubtful? But ye ſay, the Queen denieth it. What denieth ſhe? Forſooth, that ſhe did the Murder: As though there were ſo great a difference, if one ſhould be the Author or the Executioner; yet he commands it, ſhe commits it. She gave her Council, her Furtherance, her Power and Authority to the doing of it. Neither is the Cauſe unknown why ſhe did it, even that the ſame filthy Marriage with *Bothwel* might be accompliſhed. Though all with Arguments, and ſo many Witneſſes of them that were priv-

privy to it, failed; yet by her own Teſtimony, by her own Letters, it muſt needs be confeſſed: And though all other things wanted, theſe things that followed the Murder, do plainly declare the Doer; namely, that at the ſlaughter of her Husband, ſhe ſorrowed not, but quietly reſted, as after a gay Enterprize well atchieved; that ſhe mourned not, but in manner openly joyed; that ſhe could abide not only to look upon his dead Body, but alſo greedily beheld it; that ſhe ſecretly in the night buried him without funeral Pomp, or rather hid him like a Thief; for that ſame ſo inconſtant Counterfeiting or Mourning did plainly bewray it ſelf: For what meant that removing to *Seton*'s? Why ſhunned ſhe the Towns Reſort, and Peoples Eyes? Was it becauſe ſhe was aſhamed to Mourn openly, or becauſe ſhe could not well cloak her Joy, or ſecretly to give her ſelf all to Sorrow? No; for at *Seton*'s ſhe threw away all her diſguiſed perſonage of Mourning; ſhe went daily into the Fields amongſt Ruffians; and not only reſorted to her former Cuſtoms, but alſo affected to exerciſe manly Paſtimes, and that among Men, and openly: So lightly ſhe deſpiſed the Opinion and Speech of her Country. But I beſhrew that ſame *Killegree*, and that ſame Monſieur *de Croc*, that came upon her ſo unſeaſonably, and ſhewed to others her counterfeited Perſon unvizor'd; for had not they been, many things that were done, might have been denied; many things might have been handſomely feigned, and much the matter might have been helped by forged Rumours.

But they will ſay, There was a ſolemn Enquiry for the Murder: Forſooth, by *Bothwel* himſelf principally, and by ſome other that then laboured, and yet at this day do labour to deliver the Perſons guilty thereof, from puniſhment of Law, and do now plainly ſhew what they then ſecretly meant. But with what diligence, with what ſecurity was that Enquiry handled? A few poor Souls, the next dwelling-Neighbours to the King's Lodging being call'd, neither durſt tell what they had ſeen and heard; and if they touched any thing near the matter, either they were with fear put to ſilence, or deſpiſed as of no Credit: The wiſer ſort of them durſt not offend *Bothwel*, that ſate among the Judges. One or two of the King's Servants that eſcaped the miſchance, were examined which way the Murderers came in? Forſooth, ſay they, we had not the Keys. Who then had them? It was anſwered, that the Queen had them: So began the Secrets of the Court to break out; then was that Enquiry adjourned, and never recontinued. What can be more ſevere and upright than this Enquiry? And yet they prevailed nothing by it; for what the Examiners would have had kept ſecret, that the People cried out openly; that which they ſuppreſſed, burſt forth; and that which they cloaked in ſecret, it breaketh out into broad light. But there was a Proclamation ſet forth, with pardon of the Fact,

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and promise of Reward to him that would utter it. Why, who had been so mad, that he durst in so manifest peril of his Life, bear Witness, or give Information against the Judges themselves, in whose power lay his Life and Death? It was likely, forsooth, that they which had murdered a King, would spare him that should disclose the Murderer; especially when all Men saw that the Enquiry of the King's Slaughter was quite omitted, and the other Enquiry severely pursued concerning Books accusing the Slaughter. What manner of Judgment it was whereby *Bothwel* was quitted, you have heard; forsooth, by himself procured, the Judges by himself chosen, the Accusers by himself suborned, lawful Accusers forbidden to be present, unless they would yield their Throats to their Enemies Weapons; the Assize appointed neither to a day, according to the Law of the Land, nor after the manner of the Country, nor to enquire of the Murder of the King, but of such a Murder as was alledged to be committed the day before that the King was slain. Here when *Bothwel* by his Friendship and Power, and the Queen by Prayer and Threatning travailed with the Judges, do you now expect what Sentence Men chosen against Law, and against the Custom of the Land have pronounced? In their Judgment, they touched the matter nothing at all; only this they have declared, That it was no lawful Judgment in this, that with a special Protestation they provided, That it should not be prejudicial to them in time to come. Then, that all Men might understand what it was that they fought by Sword, Fire, and Poison, they jumble up Marriages; one is Divorced, another is Coupled, and that in such posting speed, as they might scant have hasted to furnish a Triumph of some Noble Victory: Yet that in these unlawful Weddings some shew of lawful Order might be observed, the goodly Bands were openly proclaimed; for publishing whereof, though the Minister of the Church was threatned with Death, if he did it not, yet at the time of his publishing, himself openly protested, That he knew Cause of Exception, why that Marriage was not lawful. But in such a Multitude assembled, how few were they that knew it not? Sith all could remember well that *Bothwel* had then alive two Wives already not yet Divorced, and the third neither lawfully Married, nor orderly Divorced. But that was not it that was intended, to observe the Ceremonies of lawful Order, but (as they do use in Interludes) they provided a certain shew, or disguised counterfeiting of common usage. For he that hath oft broken all Humane Laws, and hath cast away all Conscience and Religion, could easily neglect the Course of God's Law.

Now I ſuppoſe I have briefly declared (in reſpect of the greatneſs of the matter) and yet perhaps in more words than needed (the plainneſs of the proofs conſidered) of what purpoſe, by what counſel, and upon what hope, that heinous murder was attempted, with what cruelty it was executed, by what tokens, advertiſements, teſtimonies, and letters of the Queen her ſelf the whole matter is proved, and ſo plainly proved, that it may be as openly ſeen, as if it lay before your eyes: yet will I ſhew forth the teſtimony of the whole people, which I think worthy not to be neglected. For ſeveral men do commonly deceive, and are deceived by others, but no man deceiveth all men, nor is deceived by all. This teſtimony of the people is this. When at the Queens going abroad among the people, the greateſt part of the Commons were wont to make Acclamations, wiſhing her well; and happily with ſuch Speeches as either Love enforceth, or Flattery inventeth: now at her going after the Kings ſlaughter to the Caſtle, through the chief and moſt populous Street of the Town, there was all the way a ſad glooming ſilence. And when any woman alone of the multitude had cryed, *God ſave the Queen*, another by and by ſo cryed out, as all men might hear her; *So be it to every one as they have deſerved.*

Albeit theſe things were thus done as I have declared, yet there are ſome that ſtick not to ſay that the Queen was not onely hardly, but alſo cruelly dealt with, that after ſo deteſtable a fact, ſhe was removed from her Regency: and when they could not deny the fact, they complained of the puniſhment. I do not think there will be any man ſo ſhameleſs, to think that ſo horrible a fact ought to have no puniſhment at all. But if they complain of the grievouſneſs of the penalty, I fear leſt to all good men, we may ſeem not to have done ſo gently and temperately, as looſly and negligently, that have laid ſo light a penalty upon an offence ſo heinous, and ſuch as was never heard of before. For what can be done cruelly againſt the authour of ſo outragious a deed, wherein all laws of God and man are violated, deſpiſed, and in a manner wholly extinguiſhed? Every ſeveral offence hath his puniſhment both by God and man appointed: and as there be certain degrees of evil deeds, ſo are there alſo encreaſes in the quantities of puniſhments. If one have killed a man, it is a deed of it ſelf very heinous. What if he have killed his familiar friend? what if his father? what if in one foul fact he hath joyned all theſe offences together? ſurely of ſuch a one, neither can his life ſuffice for impoſing, nor his body for bearing, nor the Judges policy for inventing pain enough for him. Which of theſe faults is not compriſed in this offence? I omit the mean common matters, the murdering of a young gentleman, an innocent, her countrey-man, her kinſman, her familiar, her Couſin-german. Let us

alſo excuſe the fact, if it be poſſible. She unadviſedly, a young Woman, angry, offended, and one of great innocency of life till this time, hath ſlain a lewd young man, an adulterer, an unkind husband, and a cruel King.

If not any one, but all theſe reſpects together, were in this matter, they ought not to avail to ſhift off all puniſhment, but to raiſe ſome pity of the caſe. But what ſay you that none of theſe things can ſo much as be falſly pretended? The fact it ſelf, of it ſelf is odious: in a woman, it is monſtrous: in a wife not onely exceſſively loved, but alſo moſt zealouſly honoured, it is uncredible: and being commited againſt him whoſe age craved pardon, whoſe hearty affection required love, whoſe nighneſs of kindred asked reverence, whoſe innocency might have deſerved favour, upon that young man I ſay, in whom there is not ſo much as alledged any juſt cauſe of offence, thus to execute and to end, yea, to exceed all torments due to all offences, in what degree of cruelty ſhall we account it? But let theſe things avail in other perſons to raiſe hatred, to bring puniſhment, and to make examples to poſterity: But in this caſe let us bear much with her youth, much with her Nobility, much with the name of a Princeſs. As for mine own part, I am not one that thinks it alwaies good to uſe extream ſtrictneſs of law, no not in private, mean, and common perſons. But in a moſt heinous miſdeed, to diſſolve all force of law, and where is no meaſure of ill doing, there to deſcend beneath all meaſure in puniſhing, were the way to the undoing of all laws, and the overthrow of all humane ſociety. But in this one horrible Act is ſuch a hotchpotch of all abominable doings, ſuch an eagerneſs of all outragious cruelties, ſuch a forgetfulneſs of all natural affection, as nothing more can be feigned or imagined. I omit all former matters. I will not curiouſly enquire upon Princes doings, I will not weigh them by the common beam, I will not reſtrain them to common degrees of duties. If there be any thing that without great offence may be paſſed over, I will gladly leave it unſpoken of. If there be any thing that may receive excuſe, either by reſpect of age, or of woman-kind, yea, or of unadviſedneſs, I will not urge it. And to paſs over all the reſt, two heinous offences there be, that neither according to their greatneſs be fully expreſſed, nor according to their outrage be ſufficiently puniſhed, I mean the violating of Matrimony, and of Royal Majeſty. For Matrimony (as the Apoſtle ſaith) doth truely contain a great myſtery. For as being obſerved, it compriſeth within it all inferiour kinds of duties, ſo being broken, it overthroweth them all. Whoſo hath miſuſed his father, ſeemeth to have caſt out of his heart all natural reverence; but for the huſbands ſake *one ſhall leave both Father and Mother*. Of all other duties, the degrees,

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or like obſervances, either are not at all in brute-creatures, or not ſo plain to be diſcerned: but of matrimonial love, there is almoſt no living creature that hath not ſome feeling. This myſtery therefore whoſo not only violateth, but alſo deſpiſeth, he doth not onely overthrow all the foundations of humane fellowſhip, but, as much as in him lyeth, diſſolveth and confoundeth all order of nature. Whoſoever (I do not ſay) hurteth the KING, that is the true Image of God in earth, but ſlayeth him with ſtrange and unwonted ſort of cruelty, ſo as the untemperate and uncredible outragiouſneſs is not contented with ſimple torment, ſeemeth he not, as much as in him lyeth, to have a deſire to pull God out of Heaven? What refuge have they then left themſelves to mercy, that in ſatisfying their luſt of unjuſt hatred, have exceeded, not onely all meaſure of cruelty, but alſo all likelihood, that can be credible.

But they will ſay, we ought to bear with, and ſpare her Nobility, Dignity and age. Be it ſo, if ſhe have ſpared him in whom all theſe reſpects were greater, or at leaſt equal, let the majeſty of Royal name avail her. How much it ought to avail to her preſerving, her ſelf hath ſhewed the example. May we commit our ſafety to her, who a Siſter, hath butcherly ſlaughtered her Brother, a Wife her Husband, a Queen her King? May we commit our ſafety to her, whom never ſhame reſtrained from unchaſtity, woman-kind from cruelty, nor religion from impiety? Shall we bear with her age, ſex and unadviſedneſs, that without all juſt cauſes of hatred, deſpiſed all theſe things in her Kinſman, her King, her Husband? She that hath ſought ſuch execution of her wrongful wrath, what ſhall we think ſhe will do being provoked by reproaches to men not knit to her by kindred, ſubject to her pleaſure, not matched with her in equal fellowſhip of life, but yeilded to her governance, and enthralled to her tormenting cruelty? when rage for interrupting her pleaſure, and out-rage of nature, ſtrengthened with armour of licentious Power ſhall ragingly triumph upon the Goods and Bloud of poor Subjects? What is then the fault wherof we are accuſed? What cruelty have we ſhewed? That a woman raging without meaſure and modeſty, and abuſing, to all her Subjects deſtruction, the force of her Power, that ſhe had received for their ſafety, we have kept under governance of her kinſmen and well-willing friends: and whom by right, we might for her heinous deeds have executed, her we have touched with no other puniſhment, but onely reſtrained her from doing more miſchief. For we deprived her not of Liberty, but of unbridled licentiouſneſs of evil doing. Wherein we more fear among all good men, the blame of too much lenity, than among evil men the ſlander of cruelty.

These were the causes that moved the Queen to this matter. *Bothwel* also had his reasons, which not a little troubled his mind. For when that same infamous acquital rather encreased, than abated the suspition, and the matter could not be alway kept close, he fleeth to his last refuge, to obtain of the Queen a pardon of all his offences. But when by the law of the land in such Charters of pardon, the greatest offence must be expressly mentioned, and the rest it sufficed to include in general words, and expressly to confess, the murder of the King seemed to stand neither with his honour, nor with his safety: he was driven of necessity either to invent or commit some other crime, either more grievous, or at the least as heinous, under which the slaughter of the King might lurk in shadow of general words unexpressed. They could devise none other but the same counterfeit ravishment of the Queen, whereby both the Queen provided for enjoying her pleasure, and *Bothwel*, for his safety.

MEmorandum, that in the Castle of *Edenburgh*, there was left by the Earl Bothwel, before his fleeing away, and was sent for by one *George Dowglas* his servant, who was taken by the Earl *Moreton*, one small gilt Coffer, not fully a foot long, being garnished in sundry places with the *Roman* letter F. under a Kings Crown, wherein were certain Letters and writings well known, and by oaths to be affirmed, to have been written with the Queen of *Scots* own hand to the Earl *Bothwel*.

Beside those Writings, there was also extant a Writing written in *Roman* hand in French, to be avowed to be written by the said Queen of *Scots* her self, being a promise of Marriage to the said *Bothwel*; which writing being without date, and though some words therein seem to the contrary, yet is upon credible grounds supposed to have been made and written by her before the death of her Husband. The tenor whereof thus beginneth.

Nous Marie *par le grace de Dieu*, &c.

We Mary by the Grace of God, &c.

There is also another writing in Scotish, avowed to be wholly written by the Earl *Huntley*, dated the fifth of *April*, 1567. containing a form of Contract of Marriage betwixt the said Queen and Earl *Bothwel*, subscribed *Mary*, which is to be avowed to be the proper hand of the said Queen; and underneath it, *James* Earl *Bothwel*, which also is to be avowed to be the proper hand of the said Earl *Bothwel*, at which time he was commonly defamed of the King's slaughter, and not cleansed or acquit thereof before the thirteenth of *April* following. The tenor of which contract here ensueth.

At

AT *Seyton*, the fifth of *April*, in the year of God. 1567. The right Excellent, right High and Mighty Princeſs *Mary*, by the grace of God Queen of *Scots*, conſidering the place and eſtate wherein Almighty God hath conſtituted her Highneſs, and how by the deceaſe of the King her Husband, her Majeſty is now deſtitute of a husband, living ſolitary in the ſtate of Widowhood; in the which kind of life her Majeſty moſt willingly would continue, if the will of her Realm and Subjects would permit it. But on the other part, conſidering the inconveniencies may follow, and the neceſſity which the Realm hath, that her Majeſty be coupled with an Husband, her Highneſs hath inclination to Marry. And ſeeing what incommodity may come to this Realm, in caſe her Majeſty ſhould joyn in Marriage with any Foreign Prince of a ſtrange Nation, her Highneſs has thought rather better to yield unto one of her own Subjects. Amongſt whom, her Majeſty finds none more able, nor endued with better qualities than the right Noble, and her dear Couſin *James*, Earl *Bothwel*, &c. Of whoſe thankful and true ſervice, her Highneſs in all times by-paſt has had large proof, and infallible experience. And ſeeing not only the ſame good mind conſtantly perſeverling in him, but with that an inward affection, and hearty love towards her Majeſty, her Highneſs amongſt the reſt, hath made her choice of him. And therefore in the preſence of the Eternal God faithfully, and in the word of a Prince, by theſe preſents takes the ſaid *James* Earl *Bothwel* as her lawful Husband. And promiſes and obliges her Highneſs, that as ſoon as the Proceſs of divorſe intended betwixt the ſaid Earl *Bothwel* and Dame *Jane Gordon*, now his pretended Spouſe, be ended by the order of the Laws, her Majeſty ſhall God willing thereafter ſhortly Marry, and take the ſaid Earl to her Husband, and compleat the band of Matrimony with him in the face of Holy Church. And ſhall never Marry *any other Husband* but him only during his life time. And as her Majeſty of her gracious humanity, and proper motive, without deſerving of the ſaid Earl, hath thus inclined her favour and affection towards him, he humbly, and reverently acknowledging the ſame, according to his bounden duty, and being as free and able to make promiſe of Marriage, in reſpect of the ſaid Proceſs of divorce intended for divers reaſonable cauſes, and that his ſaid pretended Spouſe hath thereunto conſented, he preſently takes her Majeſty as his Lawful Spouſe in the preſence of God. And promiſes and obligeth him, as he will anſwer to God, and upon his fidelity and Honour, that in all diligence poſſible, he ſhall proſecute and ſet forward the ſaid Proceſs of divorce already begun and intended betwixt him and the ſaid Dame *Jane Gordon*, his pretended Spouſe, unto the final

Item to the Duke of Norfolk, &c.

end

end of a Decree and Declaration therein. And incontinent thereafter, at her Majesties good will and pleasure, and when her Highness thinks convenient, shall compleat and Solemnize in face of Holy Church the said band of Matrimony with her Majesty, and love, Honor, and serve her Highness, according to the place and Honor that it hath pleased her Majesty to accept him unto, and never to have any other to his Wife during her Majesties life time. In faith and witnessing whereof, her Highness, and the said Earl have subscribed this present faithful promise, with their hands, as followeth, Day, Year and place aforsaid, before these witnesses; *George*, Earl *Huntly*, and Master *Thomas Hepburn*, Parson of *Old-Hawstock*, &c.

Sic subscribetur, MARY R.

James Earl *Bothwel*.

Here note, that this Contract was made the fifth of *April*, within eight weeks after the Murther of the King, which was slain the tenth of *February* before. Also it was made seven days before that *Bothwel* was acquitted by corrupt judgment of the said Murder.

Also it appeareth by the words of the Contract if self, that it was made before sentence of Divorce between *Bothwel* and his former Wife. And also in very truth was made before any suit of Divorce, intended or begun between him and his former Wife, though some words in this Contract seem to say otherwise. Which is thus proved. For this Contract is dated the fifth of *April*, and it plainly appeareth by the judicial acts before the two several Ecclesiastical ordinary Judges, wherein is contained the whole Process of the Divorce between the said Earl, and Dame *Jane Gordon* his Wife, that one of the same Processes, was intended and begun the 26 day of *April*, and the other the 27 day.

Also there are extent the Records of the Justices Court holden at *Edenburgh* the said 12 day of *April*, some copies whereof have been exemplified and signed with the hand of *John Bellenden* Clerk of the Court, among which is the Endictment of *Bothwel*. The tenour of which Records, with the Assise and verdict do here follow.

Curia Justiciaria S. D. N. *Reginæ, tenta & inchoata in prætorio de* Edinburgh *duodecimo die mensis* Aprilis, *Anno* 1567. *per nobilem & potentem Dominum Archibaldum Comitem* Engadiæ, *Dominum* Campbel *& Lorne Justitiarium generalem ejusdem* S. D. N. *Reginæ, totius Regni sui ubilibet constitutum Sen. vocatum, & curia legitimè affirmata.*

IN the which Court, appeared personally in Judgment, Mr. *John Spens* of *Condie*, and *Robert Crieghton* of *Clock*, Advocates to our Sovereign

Sovereign Lady, in her name, and there the ſaid Mr. *John Spens* produced our Sovereign Ladies Letter execute and indorſed, together with the Endictment; of the which Letters, indorſing thereof, and Endictment, the Tenors hereafter follow, that is to ſay,

MARY, by the Grace of God, Queen of Scots, to our truſty and well beloved, William Purwes, *Mr.* Lawſon, *and* Gawine Ramſey, *Meſſengers, our Sheriffs in that part conjunctly and ſeverally ſpecially conſtituted, Greeting. Forasmuch as it is humbly meant and ſhewed unto us by our truſty and beloved Clerks and Counſellors, Mr.* John Spens *of* Condie, *and* Robert Creycghton *of* Chock, *our Advocates: that whereas they are informed that our truſty Couſin and Counſellour,* Matthew *Earl of* Lenox, *Father to the King our deareſt Spouſe, hath delated* James *Earl* Bothwel, *Lord* Halis *and* Creycghton, *&c. and certain others, of the Treaſonable, cruel, odious, and abominable ſlaughter and Murder of his Grace, committed upon the ninth day of* February *laſt, paſt, under ſilence of the night, within his lodging, for the time, within our Burgh of* Edenburgh, *near the Church in the Field, upon proviſion, ſet purpoſe, and fore-thought Fellony. And hath declared unto us the ſuſpicion had of the ſaid Earl and others, as committers of the ſaid odious, cruel and abominable deed. Whereto we being moſt earneſtly bent, minded, and willing to have trial taken thereon, by order of Juſtice, with all diligence and expedition poſſible, have with advice of the Lords of our ſecret Council, and alſo of the humble deſire of the ſaid Earl* Bothwel, *made in our and their preſence, who offereth himſelf willing to undergo the Trial of a cendign Aſſiſe, according to the Laws of our Realm for declaring of this part, have ordained a Court of Juſtice, to be ſet and holden in the Tol-booth of* Edenburgh, *the* 12 *day of* April *next enſuing, for executing of Juſtice upon the ſaid Earl, and otherwiſe, for the cruel, odious, foul, and abominable crime and offence: as is more at large contained in an Act made in the Books of our ſecret Council thereupon.*

Our will therefore is, and we Charge you ſtrictly, and command, that immediately, at the ſight of theſe our letters, ye go, and in our name and Authority, warn the ſaid Matthew *Earl of* Lenox, *perſonally, or at his dwelling place, and all other our liege People having or pretending to have intereſt in the ſaid matter by open Proclamation at the Market-croſſes of our Burrows of* Edenburgh, Dunbarton, Glaſcow, Lanerk, *and other places needful, to appear before our Juſtice, or his deputies, in our Tol-booth of* Edenburgh, *the ſaid* 12. *day of* April *next enſuing, to purſue and concur with us in the ſaid action: with certification to them, that if they fail, that our Juſtice or his Deputies, will proceed and do Juſtice in the ſaid matter the ſaid day, conformable to the Laws and Conſtitutions of our Realm, without any longer delay or continuation; and that ye ſummon an Aſſiſe to this end, every perſon under the pain of forty Pounds, as ye will anſwer to us thereupon. The which*

10

to do, we commit to you, jointly and severally, our full power by these our Letters, delivering them by you duly to be executed, and indorsed again to the bearer.

Given under our Signet at Edenburgh, *the* 27 *of* March, *in the* 25 *year of our Reign.* 1567.

Ex deliberatione Dominorum Concilii Reg.

Sic subscribitur, MARY.

Indorsments of the said Letters.

UPon the 29 day of *March*, in the year of God 1567. I *William Purwes* messenger, one of the Sheriffs in that part within constituted, past at command of these our Sovereign Ladies Letters, and in her Graces Name and Authority, warned *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, and all other her Majesties lieges having or pretending to have interest in the matter within specified, by open Proclamation at the Market-cross of the Burrough of *Edenburgh*, to appear before the Justice or his Deputies in the Tol-booth of *Edenburgh* the 12 day of *April* next ensuing, to pursue and concur with our said Sovereign Lady in the action within mentioned, with certification as is within expressed, after the form and tenour of these Letters, whereof I affix'd one copy upon the said Market-cross. This I did before these witnesses, *John Anderson* and *David Lort*, with divers others. And for more witnessing to this my execution and indorsment, my Signet is affixed.

UPon the last day of *March*, the first and second days of *April*, in the year of God above written; I *Gowine Ramsy* Messenger, one of the Sheriffs in that part within constituted, past at commandment of these our Sovereign Ladies Letters, and in her Graces Name and Authority, warned the said *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, at his dwelling places in *Glascow* and *Dunbarton* respectively, because I searched, and sought, and could not apprehend him personally, and all other her Majesties lieges, having and pretending to have Interest to pursue in the matter herein expressed, by Proclamation at the Market-Crosses of the Burroughs of *Glascow*, *Dunbarton*, and *Lanerk*, for to appear before the Justice or his Deputies in the said Tol-booth of *Edenburgh*, the said twelfth day of *April* next to come, to pursue and concur with our said Sovereign Lady in the action within written, with

with certification, as is within mentioned, after the form and tenor of these Letters, whereof affixed one copy upon every one of the said Market-Crosses. This I did before these Witnesses, *George Herbesoun*, *Nicholas Andro*, *Robert Lestrik*, Messengers, *William Smollet*, *David Robertson*, *James Smollet*, *John Hammelton*, *James Bannatine*, and *Robert Hammelton*, with divers others. And for more witnessing hereof, my signet is affixed; Subscribed with my hand, *Gawin Ramsy*, Messenger.

UPon the first day of *April*. The year of God 1567. I *William Lawson*, Messenger, Sheriff in that part within constituted, past at command of these our Sovereign Ladies Letters, to the Market-Cross of *Perth*, and there by open Proclamation lawfully warned *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, and all others our Sovereign Ladies Leiges, having, or pretending to have interests to pursue *James* Earl *Bothwel*, Lord *Halis*, and *Creyghton*, &c. and certain others, for the cruel slaughter and murther of the King's Grace, and affixed one Copy upon the said Crosses, after the form and tenor of these Letters. And this I did before these Witnesses, *James Marschel*, *Alex. Borthwike*, and *John Anderson*, Messengers, with divers others. And for the more witnessing of this my Execution and Indorsment, I have subscribed this with my hand, *Will. Lawson*, Messenger.

The Indictment.

JAmes *Earl* Bothwell, *Lord* Halis, *and* Creyghton, *&c. You are Indicted for acting part of the cruel, odious, treasonable and abominable Slaughter and Murther of the late, the right Excellent, right high and mighty Prince, the King's Grace, deareſt Spouse, for the time, to our Sovereign Lady the Queens Majesty, under silence of Night, in his own Lodging, besides the Church in the Field within this Burrow, he being taking the Nights rest, treasonably raising fire within the same, with a great quantity of Powder; through force of the which, the said whole Lodging was raised, and blown in the Air; and the said late King was murthered treasonably and most cruelly slain and destroyed by you therein upon set purpose, provision, and forethought Fellony. And this you did upon the Ninth day of* February *last past, under silence of the Night, as aboveſaid; as is notoriously known, the which you cannot deny.*

Upon the which Production of the aforesaid Letters executed, indorsed and Indicted, the said Advocate asked an Act of Court and Instruments, and desired of the Justice Process agreeable thereto.

The said Letters being openly read in Judgment, with the Indorsments thereof, the Justice by vertue of the same, caused to be called the said *James* Earl *Bothwell*, as Defendant on the one part, and *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and all others our Sovereign Ladies Liege People, having or pretending to pursue in the said matter, to appear before him in this Court of Justice, to pursue and defend according to the Law.

Immediately after there appeared in Judgment, the ſaid *James* Earl *Bothwell*, and entered perſonally, and then made choice of Mr. *David Borthwik* of *Luchthil*, and Mr. *Edmund Hay* to be Prelocutors for him, who alſo appeared perſonally in Judgment, and were admitted by the Juſtice to that effect.

There alſo appeared Mr. *Henry Kinrof*, alledging to be Proctor for *Andrew* Maſter of *Errole*, and produced in Judgment the Writing and Proteſtation under written, deſiring the ſame to be regiſtred and inſerted in the Books of Adjournal, the tenor whereof followeth.

The ſame day appeared Mr. *Henry Kinrof* Proctor for *Andrew* Maſter of *Errole*, Conſtable of *Scotland*, and alledged that the Conſtables for the time, of this Realm, hath been at all times by paſt only Judges competent to all ſuch Perſons as have been accuſed criminally, for committing of Slaughter, Murther, or of Blood drawing near to the Princes Chamber, or within four Miles of the ſame. And therefore the ſaid Maſter now being Conſtable of this Realm, ought and ſhould be the competent Judge to *James* Earl *Bothwell*, and others his alledged Complices called this day, and to be accuſed for acting any part of the alledged Cruelty, treaſonable ſlaughter of the late *Henry* King of *Scots*. And in caſe *Archibald* Earl of *Argyle*, as Chief Juſtice of this Realm, or his Deputies proceed in the ſaid Cauſe, the ſaid Maſter *Henry* Proctor aforeſaid proteſteth ſolemnly, that the ſame proceeding therein, ſhall in no wiſe hurt, nor prejudice the ſaid Conſtable in his Office, Rights, title of Rights, Intereſts, Juriſdiction, or Inveſtment thereof in any ſort, but that he may uſe and exerciſe his ſaid Juriſdiction in all ſuch Caſes in times coming, conform to his Inveſtment of the ſaid Office, and uſe of Cognoſcing uſed by his Predeceſſors, and before him in like Cauſes. All which time he makes it known, either by Inveſtment or other ways ſufficiently him to have Juriſdiction in ſuch Cauſes. And deſires the ſame Proteſtation to be inſerted in the Book of Adjournal, and admit it under Proteſtation, that he affirm not the Lord Juſtice Juriſdiction in any ſort in proceeding in the ſaid matter.

The Juſtice, being adviſed with the ſaid Alledgeance and Proteſtation, found by Interlocutor, and ordained that Proceſs ſhould be laid by him in this matter, notwithſtanding the ſame, in reſpect that nothing was ſhewn by the ſaid Mr. *Henry*, to verifie the Contents of the ſaid Alledgeance and Proteſtation. Whereupon the ſaid Earl *Bothwell* asked a Note of Court and Inſtrument.

The ſaid *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and others our Sovereign Ladies Lieges, having or pretending to have Intereſt to purſue in the ſaid matter, being oftentimes called, to have appeared and concurred with the ſaid Advocates, in purſuing of the ſaid Action, *Robert Cunningham* appeared, alledging him Servant to the ſaid *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and produced the Writing under written, which he ſubſcribed with his hand in Judgment; as he that had power to uſe the ſame, and proteſted it, and deſired to conform thereto in all points. Of the which Writing the tenor follows.

My

MY Lords, I am come here, sent by my Master my Lord of Lenox, *to declare the cause of his absence this day, and with his power as the same bears. The cause of his absence is the shortness of time; and that he is denied of his Friends and Servants, who should have accompanied him to his honor and security of his life, in respect of the greatness of his Party, and he having assistance of no Friends but only himself. And therefore his L. commanded me to desire a sufficient Day, according to the weight of the Cause, therefore he may keep the same. And if your L. will proceed at this present, I protest that I may without any displeasure of any man, use these things committed to my Charge by my Lord my Master: Whereof I take a Document.*

Item, *I protest, that if the Persons who pass upon Assize and Inquest of these Persons that shall enter on pannal this day, clear the said Persons of the Murther of the King, that it shall be wilful Error and not Ignorance, by reason that it is notoriously known those Persons to be the Murtherers of the King, as my Lord my Master alledges, upon the which Protestation I require a Document.* Sic Subscribitur.

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM.

Upon the Production of the which Writing and Protestation, the said *Robert* asked Acts and Instruments.

The Justice, being advised with the aforesaid Writing and Protestation produced, and used by the said *Robert Cunningham* in respect of the Letters and Writings sent to our Sovereign by the said *Monbrew* Earl of *Lenox*, produced it, and read it in a Court, whereof the Copies are under written. By the which Letters and Writings, the said Earl of *Lenox* desired a short and summary Process to be deduced in the said matter, and also of the Act and Ordinance of the Lords of the secret Council granted thereupon, and such like in respect of the earnest insisting of the Advocates, desiring Process and right Suit of the said Earl *Bothwel*'s earnest Petition and Desire of a Tryal to be had in the said matter, with the Advice of the Lords and Barons assessors present, and by an Interlocutor, that Process should be deduced in the said Action this day, according to the Laws of this Realm, notwithstanding the Writing and Protestation produced by the said *Robert Cunningham*, and likewise admit him to concur and assist the said Advocates in the pursuance of the said Action, if he pleased.

Here followeth the Copies of the Letters and Writings sent to the Queens Majesty, by the said Earl of *Lenox*.

I Render most humble thanks unto your Majesty for your Gracious and Comfortable Letter, which I received the 24th day of this instant. And whereas I perceive by the same, that it is your Majesties pleasure to remit the Tryal of this late odious Act to the time of a Parliament. May it please your Majesty, altho' I am assured your Highness thinks the time as long as I do till the matter be tried, and the Authors of the Deed condignly punished; yet I shall humbly crave your Majesties pardon in troubling your Highness so oft therein as I do, for the matter toucheth me so near, I

beseech your Majesty, most humbly to accept this my simple Advice in good part, as follows: Which is, that whereas the time is long to the Parliament, this matter not being a Parliament-matter, but of such weight and validity, which ought rather to be with all expedition and diligence sought out and punished, to the Example of the whole World, as I know your Majesties Wisdom considers the same far more than my Wits can comprehend, yet forasmuch as I hear of certain Tickets that have been put on the Tol-booth-Door of Edenburgh, answering your Majesties first and second Proclamations, which mentions in special, the names of certain Persons, devisers of the cruel Murther, I shall therefore most humbly beseech Your Majesty, for the love of God, the Honor of your Majesty, your Realm, and the Weal and Tranquillity thereof, that it would please your Majesty forthwith, not only to apprehend and put in sure keeping the Persons named in the said Tickets, but also with diligence, to assemble your Majesties Nobility, and then by open Proclamation, to admonish and require the Writers of the said Tickets to appear according to the effect thereof; at the which time, if they do not, your Majesty, may by advice of your Nobility and Council, relieve and set at liberty the Persons named in the Tickets aforesaid. So shall your Majesty do an honorable and godly Act in bringing the matter to such a narrow point as either the matter shall appear plainly before your Majesty, to the punishment of those who have been the Authors of this cruel Deed, or else the said Tickets found vain in their selves, and the Persons which are slandered to be exonerated and set at liberty at your Majesties pleasure. So I commit your Majesty to the Protection of Almighty God, to preserve you in Health, and most happy Reign. Of Hawstoun the 26th Day of February.

MAy it please your Majesty, where your Highness in your last Letter writes to me, that if there be any Names in the Tickets, that were affixt upon the Tol-booth-Door of Edinburgh, that I think worthy to suffer a Tryal for the Murther of the King your Majesties Husband, upon my Advertisement, your Majesty should proceed to the Cognition taken, as may stand with the Laws of this Realm, and being found culpable, shall see the punishment as rigorously executed as the weight of the Crime deserves. May it please your Majesty, since the receipt of your Highnesses Letter, I have still look that some of the bloody Murtherers should have been openly known ere now. And seeing they are not yet, I cannot find in my heart to conceal the matter any longer, but let your Majesty understand the names of them whom I greatly suspect, that is to say, the Earl Bothwel, Mr. James Balfour, and Gilbert Balfour his Brother, Mr. David Chalmer, Blackmaster, John Spens, Senior Francis Bastian, John the Burdeavix, and Joseph David's Brother. Which Persons I most intirely and humbly beseech your Majesty, that according to my former Petition unto your Highness, it will please, not only to apprehend and put in sure keeping, but as with diligence to assemble your Majesties whole Nobility and Council, and then to take such perfect order of the afore-named Persons, that they may be justly tryed, as I doubt not but in so doing the Spirit of God shall work in the said matter, that the truth shall be known. So shall your Majesty do a most godly and honorable Act, for

your self being the Party as you are, a great Satisfaction it shall be to all that belongs unto him that is gone, who was so dear unto your Highness. And now, not doubting but your Majesty will take order in the matter according to the weight of the Cause; which I most humbly beseech, I commit your Majesty to the Protection of the Almighty God, who preserve you in Health, long Life, and most happy Reign. From *Howstoun* this Seventeenth of *March*.

Assizes.

Andro Earl of *Rothes*,
George Earl of *Caithnes*,
Gilbert Earl of *Cassilis*,
Lord *John Hamilton*, Commander of *Arbroycht*, Son to the Lord Duke.
James Lord *Rosse*,
Robert Lord *Sunple*,
John Maxwell Lord *Hereis*.

Laurence Lord *Oliphant*,
John Master of *Forbes*,
John Gordon of *Lochinvare*,
Robert Lord *Boyd*,
James Colbourn of *Launton*,
John Somervile of *Canabusnethan*,
Mowbray of *Barn-Buxal*,
Ogilby of *Boyn*.

THe fore-named Persons of Assize being chosen, admitted and sworn in Judgment, as the use is. And therefore the said Earl *Bothwell* being accused by the said Dictate of the Crime aforesaid, and the same being denied by him, and referred to the deliverance of the said Assize, they removed out of the said Court, and all together convened, and after long reasoning had by them upon the same Dictate and Points thereof, they and eke one of them for themselves voted, delivered, and acquit the said *James* Earl *Bothwell* of act and part of the said slaughter of the King, and Points of the said Dictate.

And since the said *George* Earl of *Caithnes*, Chancellor of the said Assizes in his and their Names asked Instruments, that neither the said Advocates, nor the said *Robert Cunningham* as have had Commission of my Lord of *Lenox*, nor no other brought into them any Writing, Token, or Verification, whereby the Dictate above written might be forfeit, nor the said Assize perswaded to deliver any otherwise, than is above written. Nor yet was the said Dictate sworn, nor no Party, except the said Advocates competent to pursue the same, and therefore in respect that they delivered according to their knowledge, protests that they should incur no wilful Error in any wise hereafter. Which Instrument and Protestation immediately after the re-entry of the said Earl of *Caithnes* Chancellor, and one part of the named of the said Persons of Assize in the said Court of Justiciary, before the Pronunciation of their Deliverance aforesaid at the desire of the said Earl of *Caithnes*, was openly read in Judgment. And thereupon he of new asked Acts and Instruments, and protesteth in manner above expressed.

E*Xtractum de libro Actorum Adjournalis S. D. N. Regina. Per me Joannem Bellenden de Auchnoule militem, clericum justiciariæ ejusdem generalem. Sub meis signo & subscriptione manualibus.*

Joannes Bellenden *Clericus Justiciariæ.*

Note,

Note, That at the same time Protestation was made by *George* Earl of *Caithnes*, Chancellor of the said Assize, that the said Dictate or Indictment was not in this point true, *viz.* in alledging the Murther to be committed the 9th day of *February*, for that indeed the Murther was committed the next day being the 10th Day in the Morning, at two hours after Mid-night, which in Law was and ought to be truly accounted the 10th Day, and so the Acquittal that way but cavillingly defended.

The Writings and Letters found in the said Casket, which are avowed to be written with the *Scottish* Queens own hand.

Certain *French* Sonnets written by the Queen of *Scots* to *Bothwell*, before her marriage with him, and (as it is said) while her Husband lived; but certainly before his Divorce from his Wife, as the words themselves shew, before whom she here preferreth her self in deserving to be beloved of *Bothwell*.

O Dieux ayez de moy compassion,
Et m' enseignez quelle preuve certain
Je puis donner qui ne luy semble vain
De mon amour & ferme affection.
Las! n' est il pas ja en possession
Du corps, du cœur qui ne refuse pain
Ny deshonneur, en la vie incertain,
Offense de parents, ne proscription?
Pour luy tous mes amis j' estimemons que rien,
Et de mes ennemis je veux esperer bien.
J' ay hazardé pour luy & nom & conscience:
Je veux pour luy au monde renoncer:
Je veux mourir pour luy au sancer.
Que reste il plus pour prouver ma constance?
Entre ses mains & en son plein pouvoir
Je mets mon filz, mon honneur, & may vie,
Mon pais, mes subjects, mon ame assubjectie
Est tout à luy, & n' ay autre vouloir
Pour mon object que suivre le decevoir
Suivre je veux malgré toute l' envie
Qu' offrir en peult, Car je n' mettre e vie
Que de ma foy, luy faire apperceuoir
Que pour tempeste ou bonnace qui face.
Jamais ne veux changer demeure ou place.
Brief je feray de ma foy telle preuve,
Qu' il cognoistra sans fainte ma constance,
Non parmes pleurs ou fainte obeyssance,
Comme autres ont fait, mais par divers esprenve.

Elle

Elle pour ſon honneur vous doibt obeyſſance
Moy vous obeyſſant i' in puis recevoir blaſme,
N' eſtat, à mo regret, comme elle voſtre femme,
Et ſi n' aura pour tant en ce point preeminence.
Pour ſon profit elle uſe de conſtance,
Carce n'eſt peu d'honneur d'eſtre de voz biens dame
Et moy pour vois aimer j' en puis recevoir blaſme
Et ne luy veux bailer en toute l' obſervance
Elle de voſtre mal n' à l' apprehenſion
Moy je n'ay nul repos tant je crains l' apparence
Par l'aduis des parentz, elle eut voſtre accointance
Moy maugré tous les mines vous porte affection
Et de ſa loyaute prenez ferme aſſeurance.

Par vous mon cœur & par voſtre alliance
Elle à remis ſa maiſon en honneur
Elle à jouy par vous la grandeur
Dont tous les ſiens n' ayent nul aſſeurance
De vous mon bien elle à eu la conſtance,
Et a gaigné pour un temps voſtre cœur,
Par vous elle à eu plaiſſirs bon heur,
Et pour vous à receu honneur & reverence,
Et n' à per lu fin on la joviſſance
D' un faſcheux ſot qu' elle aymoit cherement,
Je ne la playns d' aymer donc ardamment,
Celuy qui n' à en ſens, ny en vaillance,
En beauté, en bonte, ny en conſtance
Point de ſeconde. Je vis en ceſte foy.
Quant vous l' amiez, elle uſoit de freideur.
Sy vous ſouffriez, pour ſ' amour paſſion
Qui vient d' aymer de trop d' affection,
Son doig monſtroit, la triſteſſe de cœur
N' ayant pliſir de voſtre grand ardeur
En ſes habitz, monſtroit ſans fiction
Qu' ellen' avoit paour qu' imperfection
Peuſt l' effacer hors de ce loyal cœur.
De voſtre mort je ne vis la peaun
Que meritoit tel Mary & ſeigneur.
Comme de vous elle à eu tout ſon bien
Et n' à priſé ny jamais eſtimé
Un ſi grand heur ſi non puis qu' il n' eſt ſien
Et maintenant dit l' avoir tant aymé.
Et maintenant elle commence à voir
Qu' olle eſtoit bien de mauvais jugement

De n'estimer l' amour d' un tel amant
Et voudroit bien mon amy decevoir
Par les escriptz tout sardez de scavoir
Qui pourtant n' est en son esprit croissant
Ains emprunté de quelque autheur luissant.
A faint tresbien un envoy sans l' avoir
Et toutesfois ses parolles sardez,
Ses pleurs, ses plaincts remplis de fictions,
Et ses hauts cris & lamentations,
Ont tant gaigné qui par vous sont gardez,
Ses lettres escriptes ausquelles vous donnez foy
Et si l' aymez & croyez plus que moy.

Vous la croyez, las! trop je l' appercoy
Et vous doutez, de ma ferme constance,
O mon seul bien & mon seul esperience,
Et ne vous puis je asseurer de ma foy
Vous m'estimez leger que je voy,
Et si n' avez en moy nul asseurance,
Et soupconnez mon cœur sans apparence,
Vous deffiant à trop grand tort de moy.
Vous ignorez l' amour que je vous porte,
Vous soupconnez qu' autre amour me transporte,
Vous estimez mes parolles du vent,
Vous depeignez de cire mon las cœur,
Vous me pensez femme sans jugement.
Et tout cela augmente mon ardeur.

Mon amour croist & plus en plus croistra
Tant que je viuray, & tiendray à grandheur.
Tant seulement d' avoir part en ce cœur
Vers qui en fin mon amour persistra
Si tres à clair que jamais n' en en doutra.
Pour luy je veux rechercher la grandeur,
Et feray tant qu' en vray cognoistra,
Que je n' ay bien, heur, ne contentement,
Qu' à l' obeyr & servir loyaument.
Pour luy jattend toute bonne fortune.
Pour luy je veux garder santé & vie.
Pour luy tout uertu de suiure j' ay envie,
Ee sans changer me trouvera tout' une.

Pour luy aussi je jette maintes larmes.
Premier quand il se fist de ce corps possesseur,

Du

Du quel alors il n' avoit pas le cœur.
Puis me donna un autre dur alarme,
Quand il verſa de ſon ſang mainte dragme,
Dont de grief il me vint laiſſer doleur,
Qui m' en penſa oſter la vie, & frayeur
De perdre las! le ſeul rempar qui m' arme.
Pour luy depuis jay meſpriſé l' honneur
Ce qui nous peult ſeul pourvoir de bonheur.
Pour luy j' ay hazardé grandeur & conſcience.
Pour luy tous mes parentz j' ay quite, & amis,
Et tous autres reſpectz ſont apart mis,
Brief de vous ſeul je cherche l' alliance.

De vous je dis ſeul ſouſtein de ma vie
Tant ſeulement je cherche m' aſſeurer,
Et ſi oſe de moy tant preſumer
De vous gaigner maugré toute l' envie.
Car c' eſt le ſeul deſir de voſtre chere amie,
De vous ſervir & loyaument aymer,
Et tous malheurs moins que rien eſtimer,
Et voſtre volonte de lamien ne ſajure.
Vous cognoſtrez avecques obeyſſance
De mon loyal devoir n' omittant la ſcience
A quoy je eſtudieray pour touſiours vous complaire
Sans aymer rien que vous, ſoubz la ſubjection.
De qui je veux ſans nulle fiction
Viure & mourir & à ce j' obtempere.

Mon cœur, mon ſang, mon ame, & mon ſoucy
Las, vous m' avez promis qu' aurons ce plaiſir
De deviſer avecques vous à loyſir,
Toute la nuict, ou je languis jcy,
Ayant le cœur d' extreme paour tranſy,
Pour voir abſent le but de mon deſir
Crainte d' oublier un coup me vient à ſaiſir:
Et l' autre fois je crains que rendurcie
Soit contra moy voſtre amiable cœur
Par quelque dit d' un meſchant rapporteur.
Un autre fois je crains quelque aventure
Qui par chemin detourne mon amant,
Par un faſcheux & nouveau accident.
Dieu detourne toute malheureux augure.

Ne vous voyant ſelon qu' avez promis
J' ay mis la main au papier pour eſcrire

D'un different que je vous transcrire.
Je ne scay pas quel sera vostre advis
Mais Je scay bien qui mieux ayme scavoir,
Vous diriez bien que plus y gaignera.

O Goddess have of me Compassion,
And shew what certain Proof
I may give, which shall not seem to him vain,
Of my Love and fervent Affection.
He alas, is he not already in possession
Of my Body, of Heart, that refuses no pain?
Nor Dishonour in this life uncertain,
Offence of Friends, nor worse affliction,
For him I esteem all my Friends less than nothing,
And I will have good hope of my enemies.
I have put in hazard for him both Fame and Conscience,
I will for his sake renounce the World,
I will die to set him forward.
What remaineth to give proof of my Conscience?

In his hands and in his full power,
I put my Son, my Honour, and my Life,
My Country, my Subjects, my Soul, all subdued
To him, and has none other will
For my scope, which without deceit,
I will follow in spite of all Envie
That may ensue: for I have no other desire,
But to make him perceive my faithfulness,
For storm or fair weather that may come,
Never will it change Dwelling, or Place.
Shortly I shall give of my truth such proof,
That he shall know my Constancy without fiction,
Not by my Weeping, or feigned Obedience,
As other have done: but by other experience.

She for her Honour oweth you Obedience;
I in obeying you may receive Dishonour,
Not being (to my Displeasure) your Wife as she
And yet in this point she shall have no Preheminence.
For it is no little Honour to be Mistris of your Goods,
And I for loving of you may receive blame,
And I will not be overcome by her in loyal Observance.
She has no apprehension of your Evil,
I fear so all appearing evil, that I can have no rest,

She

She had your acquaintance by consent of her Friends,
I against all their Will have born your Affection,
And not the less (my Heart) you doubt of my Constancy,
And of her Faithfulness you have firm assurance.

By you (my Heart) and by your alliance
She hath restored her House unto Honour,
By you she is become to that Greatness,
Of which her Friends had never assurance,
Of you (my Wealth) she got the Acquaintance,
And hath conquered the same time your Heart.
By you she hath Pleasure and good luck,
And by you hath received Honour and Reverence,
And hath not lost but the enjoying
Of one unpleasant Fool which she loved dearly.
Then I moan her not to love ardently
Him that hath none in Wit, in Manhood,
In Beauty, in Youth, in Truth, nor in Constancy,
Any second: I live in the belief.

When you loved her she used coldness,
If you suffer for her love passion,
That cometh of too great Affection of life,
Her Sadness shews the Dolour of her Heart,
Taking no pleasure of your vehement Burning,
In her cloathing she shews unfeignedly,
That she had no fear, that Imperfection
Could deface her out of that true heart.
I did not see in her the Fear of your Death,
That was worthy of such a Husband and Lord.
Shortly she hath of you all her Wealth.
And hath never weighed nor esteemed
On so great hap, but since it was not hers,
And now she saith that she loveth him so well.

And now she beginneth to see,
That she was of very evil Judgment,
To esteem the Love of such a Lover,
And would fain deceive my Love.
By Writings and painted Learning,
Which not the less did not breed in her brain,
But borrowed from some feat Author,
To feign one Story and have none.
And for all that her painted Words,

Her Tears, her Plaints full of dissimulation,
And her high Cries and Lamentations
Hath won that Point, that you keep in store,
Her Letters and Writings, to which you give trust,
Yea, and lovest and believest her more than me.

You believe her (alas) I perceive it too well,
And callest in doubt my firm Constancy
(O mine only Wealth, and mine only Hope)
And I cannot assure you of my truth.
I see that you esteem me light,
And be no way assured of me,
And doest suspect (my Heart) without any appearing cause,
Discrediting me wrongfully.
You do not know the Love I bear to you,
You suspect that other Love transporteth me.
You think my Words be but wind,
You paint my very Heart, as it were of wax,
You imagine me a Woman without Judgment.
And all that increaseth my burning.

My Love increaseth, and more and more will increase,
So long as I shall live, and I shall vow for a great Felicity
To have only part in that Heart,
To which at length my Love shall appear,
So clearly, that he shall never doubt,
For him I will strive against one World,
For him I will renounce greatness,
And shall do so much that he shall know
That I have no Wealth, Joy, nor Contentation,
But to obey and serve him truly.
For him I attend all good Fortune.
For him I will conserve Health and Life.
For him I desire to ensue Courage,
And he shall ever find me unchangeable.

For him also I powred out many Tears,
First when he made himself Possessor of this Body,
Of the which then he had not the Heart.
After he did give me one other hard Charge,
When he bled of his Blood great quantity,
Through the great Sorrow of the which came to me that Colour,
That almost carried away my Life, and the Fear
To lose the only Strength that armed me,

For him since I have despised Honour,
The thing only that bringeth Felicity.
For him I have hazarded Greatness and Conscience.
For him I have forsaken all Kindred and Friends,
And set aside all other Respects,
Shortly, I seek the Alliance of you only.

Of you I say the only upholder of my Life,
I only seek to be assured,
Yea, and dare presume so much of my self,
To win you in spite of all Envie:
For that is the only Desire of your dear love,
To serve and love you truly,
And to esteem all this May less than nothing,
And to follow your Will with mine,
You shall know with Obedience,
Not forgetting the knowledge of my loyal Duty,
The which I shall study to the end that I may ever please you,
Loving nothing but you, in the Subjection
Of whom I will without any fiction,
Live and die, and this I consent.

My Heart, my Blood, my Soul, my Care,
Alas you had promised that I should have that Pleasure,
To devise with you at leisure.
All the Night where I lie and languish here,
My Heart being overlet with extreme Fear
Seeing absent the Summ of my desire.
Fear of forgetting sometime taketh me,
And other Times, I fear that loving Heart,
Be not hardened against me
By some saying of some wicked Reporter.
Other Times I fear some Adventure,
That by the way should turn back my Love
By some troublesome and new Accident.
O God turn back all unhappy Augure.

Not seeing you as you had promised,
I put my Hand to the Paper to write,
Of one difference that I have will it copie.
I cannot tell what shall be your Judgment,
But I know well who can best love,
You can tell who shall win most.

A Letter written by her from *Glaſcoe* to *Bothwell*, proving her Hate to her Husband, and ſome ſuſpicions of practiſing his Death, which Letter was written in *French*, and here enſueth, tranſlated word for word.

IL ſemble qu' avecques voſtre abſence ſoit joynt l' oubly, veu qu' au partir vous me promiſtes de vos novelles. Et toutes foys je n' en puis apprendre, &c.

IT appears, that with your abſence there is alſo joyned forgetfulneſs, ſeeing that at your departing you promiſed to make me Advertiſement of your News from time to time. The waiting upon them yeſterday, cauſed me to be almoſt in ſuch Joy as I will be at your returning, which you have delayed longer than your promiſe was. As for me, howbeit, I have no further News from you according to my Commiſſion, I bring the Man with me to *Cragmillar* upon *Monday*, where he will be all *Wedneſday*, and I will go to *Edenburgh* to draw Blood of me, if, in the mean time, I get no News to the contrary from you. He is more Gay than ever you ſaw him, he puts me in remembrance of all things that may make me believe he loves me. Perhaps you will ſay that he makes love to me: Of the which I take ſo great pleaſure, that I enter never where he is, but incontinent I take the ſickneſs of my ſore Side, I am ſo troubled with it. If *Paris* brings me that which I ſend him for, I truſt it ſhall amend me. I pray you adverti ſe me of your News at length, and what I ſhall do, in caſe you be not returned when I am come there, for in caſe you work not wiſely I ſee that the whole burden of this will fall upon my Shoulders. Provide for all things, and Diſcourſe upon it firſt with your ſelf. I ſend this by *Betoun*, who goes to one day of Law of the Lord of *Belſours*. I will ſay no further, ſaving I pray you to ſend me good News of your Voyage. From *Glaſcoe* this *Saturday* in the Morning.

Another Letter to *Bothwell* concerning the Hate of her Husband, and Practice of his Murther.

EStant party du lieu ou j' avois laiſſé mon cœur il ſe peult ayſément juger quelle eſtoit ma contenance, veu ce qui peult un corps ſans cœur, qui à eſté cauſe que juſques à la diſnée je n' ay pas tenu grand propos, auſſi perſonne ne s' eſt voulu advancer jugeant bien qu' il n' y faiſoit bon, &c.

BEing departed from the place where I left my heart, it is eaſie to be judged what was my countenance, ſeeing that I was even as much as one body without a heart, which was the occaſion that while dinner-time I held purpoſe to no body, nor yet durſt any preſent themſelves unto me, judging

ing that it was not good so to do. Four miles ere I came to the Town, one Gentleman of the Earl of *Lenox* came and made his Commendations unto me, and excused him that he came not to meet me, by reason that he durst not enterprise the same, because of the rude words that I had spoken to *Cunningham*, and he desired that he should come to the Inquisition of the matter that I suspected him of. This last speaking was of his own head without any Commission. I answered to him that there was no receit could serve against fear, and that he would not be afraid in case he were not culpable; and that I answered but rudely to the doubts that were in his Letters. So that I made him hold his Tongue. The rest were too long to write. Sir *James Hamilton* met me, who shewed that the other time, when he heard of my coming, he departed away, and sent *Houston* to shew him that he would never have believed that he would have pursued him, nor yet accompanied [redacted] with the *Hamiltons*. He answered, that he was only come but to see me, and that he would neither accompany *Stewart* nor *Hamilton*, but by my Commandment. He desired that he would come and speak with him; he refused it. The Lord of *Luse*, *Hounston* and *Canldwell* [redacted] his Son, with forty Horse or thereabout came and met me. The Lord of *Luse* said that he was charged to one day of Law, by the King's Father, which should be this day, against his own hand writing, which he has. And yet notwithstanding, knowing of my coming it is delayed, he was inquired to come to him, which he refused, and swears that he will endure nothing of him. Never one of that Town came to speak to me, which causes me to think that they are his, and nevertheless he speaks good, at the least his Son. I see no other Gentleman but they of my company. The King sent for *Joachim* yesternight, and asked of him, why I lodged not beside him, and that he would rise the sooner if that were, and wherefore I come, if it was for good Appointment, and if you were there in particular, and if I had made my Estate, if I had taken *Pareis* and *Gilbert* to write to me, and that I would send *Joseph* away. I am abashed who hath shewn him so far, yea, he spake even of the Marriage of *Bastian*. I inquired him of his Letters, whereunto he complained of the Cruelty of some, answered that he was astonished, and that he was so glad to see me, that he believed to die for gladness, he found great fault that I was pensive, I departed to Supper, this Bearer will tell you of my arriving, he prayed me to return, the which I did; he declared unto me his sickness, and that he would make no Testament but only leave all things to me, and that I was the cause of his Malady, because of the regret that he had that I was so strange unto him. And thus he said, you ask me what I mean by the Cruelty contained in my Letter, it is of you alone that will not accept of my offers and repentance. I confess that I have failed, but not into that which I ever denied, and such like has fallen to sundry of your Subjects which

Laird

This bearer will tell you somwhat upon this.

which you have forgiven. I am young. You will say, that you have forgiven me oftentimes, and yet that I return to my faults. May not any Man of my Age for lack of Counsel fall twice or thrice, or in lack of his Promise, and at last repent himself, and be chastised by experience? If I may obtain pardon, I protest I shall never make fault again. And I crave no other thing, but that we may be at Bed and Board together as Husband and Wife: and if you will not consent hereunto, I will never rise out of this bed. I pray you tell me your Resolution. God knows how I am punished for making my God of you, and for having no other thought but on you; and if at any time I offend you, you are the cause, because when any offends me, if for my Refuge I might complain unto you, I would speak it unto no other body; but when I hear any thing, not being familiar with you, necessity constrains me to keep it in my Breast; and that causes me to try my Wit for very anger. I answered straight unto him, But that would be over-long to write at length. I asked why he would pass away in the English Ship? He denies it, and swears thereunto; but he grants that he spake with the Men. After this, I inquired of the Inquisition of *Highgates*; he denied the same, while I shewed him the very Words were spoken. At which time he said, that *Minto* had advertised him that it was said that some of the Council had brought one Letter to me to be subscribed to put him in Prison, and to slay him if he made resistance. And he asked the same of *Minto* himself, who answered, That he believed the same to be true. In the Morning I will speak to him upon this point. As to the rest, *William Highgates* he confessed it; but it was the Morning after my coming ere he did it. He would very fain that I should lodge in his Lodging; I refused it, and said to him, that he behoved to be purged, and that could not be done here: he said to me, I hear say you have brought one Letter with you, but I had rather have passed with you. I think he believed that I would have sent him away Prisoner; I answered, That I would take him with me to *Cragmillar*, where the Physician and I might help him, and not be far from my Son: he answered, that he was ready when I pleased, so I would assure him of his Request; he desires no body to see him; he is angry when I speak of *Walear*, and says, that he shall pluck the ears from off his Head, and that he lies; for I inquired him upon that, and that he was angry with some of the Lords, and would threaten them; he denies that, and says, he loves them all, and prays me to give trust to nothing against him, as to me he would rather give his Life ere he did any displeasure to me. And after this he shewed me of so many little flatteries, so coldly, and so wisely, that you will be ashamed thereat. I had almost forgot that he said he could not doubt of me in this purpose of *Highgates*, for he would never believe that I who was his proper Flesh would do him any evil, as well it was shewn that I refused to subscribe the same: but as to any others that would pursue him, at least

leaſt he ſhould ſell his Life dear enough; but he ſuſpected no body nor yet would not, but would love all that I loved; he would not let me depart from him, but deſired that I ſhould wake with him: I make it ſeem that I believe that all is true, and takes heed thereto, and excuſed my ſelf for this night that I could not wake: he ſays he ſleeps not well; you ſaw him never better, nor ſpeak more humble; and if I had not a proof of his heart of Wax, and that mine were not of a Diamond, whereinto no ſhot can make breach, but that which comes forth of your hand, I would have almoſt had pity of him. But fear not, the place ſhall hold unto the death. Remember in recompence thereof, that ye ſuffer not yours to be won by that falſe Race that will travel no leſs with you for the ſame. I believe they have been at School together; he has ever the tear in his Eye; he ſalutes every body, yea unto the leaſt, and makes piteous moan unto them to make them have pity on him. This day his Father bled at the mouth and noſe; gheſs what Preſage that is: I have not yet ſeen him, he keeps his Chamber. The King deſires that I ſhould give him Meat with mine own hands: but give no more truſt where you are than I ſhall do here. This is my firſt Journey; I ſhall ſend the ſame to morrow. I write all things; howbeit they be of little weight, to the end that ye may take the beſt of all to judge upon. I am in doing of a work here that I hate greatly. Have you not a deſire to laugh to ſee me lie ſo well, at the leaſt to diſſemble ſo well, and to tell him truth betwixt hands. He ſhewed me almoſt all that is in the Name of the Biſhop and *Sunderland*, and yet I have never touched one word of that you ſhewed me, but only by force flattering, and to pray him to aſſure himſelf of me; and by complaining on the Biſhop I have drawn it all out of him: you have heard the reſt. We are coupled with two falſe Races, the Devil ſunder us, and God knit us together for the moſt faithful couple that ever he united. This is my Faith, I will die in it. Excuſe it, I write evil, you may gheſs the half of it, but I cannot mend it, becauſe I am not well at eaſe, and very glad to write unto you when the reſt are aſleep, ſith I cannot ſleep as they do, and as I would deſire, that is, in your Arms my dear Love, whom I pray God to preſerve from all evil, and ſend you repoſe. I am going to ſeek mine till the Morning, when I ſhall end my Bible; but I am vexed that it ſtops me to write news of my ſelf unto you, becauſe it is ſo long. Advertiſe me what you have deliberated to do in the matter, you know upon this point, to the end that we may underſtand each other well, that nothing thereof be ſpilt. I am weary, and going to ſleep, and yet I ceaſe not to ſcribble all this Paper in ſo much as remains thereof. Wearied might this pocky man be, that cauſes me to have ſo much pain, for without him I ſhould have a far pleaſanter Subject to diſcourſe upon. He is not overmuch deformed, yet he has received very much. He has almoſt ſlain me with his breath, it is worſe than your Uncles, and yet I came no nearer unto him but in a Chair at the beds feet, and being at the other end thereof.

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The meſſage of the Father in the Gate.
The purpoſe of Sir *James Hamilton.*
Of that the L. of *Luſſe* ſhewed me of the delay.
Of the demands that he asked of *Joachim.*
Of my eſtate, of my company, of the occaſion of my coming, and of *Joſeph.*
Item, the purpoſe that he and I had together.
Of the deſire he has to pleaſe me, and of his repentance.
Of the interpretation of his Letter.
Of *William Highgates* matter of his departing.
Of *Monſieur de Levingſton.*

I had almoſt forgot that *Monſieur de Levingſton* ſaid in the Lady *Reres* ear at Supper, that he would drink to the folk I wiſt of, if I would pledge them. And after Supper he ſaid to me when I was leaning upon him warming me at the fire; you have fair going to ſee ſuch folk, yet you cannot be ſo welcome unto them, as you left ſome body this day in ſadneſs, that will never be merry while he ſee you again. I aſked of him, who that was? with that he thruſt my body and ſaid, that ſome of his folks had ſeen you in ſaſchery, you may gheſs at the reſt. I wrought this day while it was two hours upon this bracelet, for to put the key of it within the lock thereof, which is coupled underneath with two cordwins. I have had ſo little time that it is evil made; but I ſhall make one fairer in the mean time. Take heed that none that is here ſee it, for all the world will know it; becauſe for haſte it was made in their preſence. I am now paſſing to my intended purpoſe. You make me diſſemble ſo far that I have horrour thereat; and you cauſe me to do almoſt the office of a Traitour: Remember how if it were not to obey you, I had rather be dead ere I did it; my heart bleeds at it. So that, he will not come with me except upon condition that I will promiſe to him that I ſhall be at Bed and Board with him as before, and that I ſhall leave him not after; and doing this upon my word he will do all things that I pleaſe, and come with me; but he prayed me to remain with him while another morning. He ſpake very bravely at the beginning, as this Bearer will ſhew you, upon the purpoſe of the Engliſh-men, and of his departing; but in the end he returned again to his humility. He ſhewed amongſt other purpoſes that he knew well enough, that my Brother had ſhewed me that thing which he had ſpoken in *Scriveling*; of the which he denies the one half, and above all, that ever he came in his Chamber. For to make him truſt me, it behoved me to feign in ſome things with him; therefore when he required me to promiſe unto him, that when he was whole we ſhould have both one Bed, I ſaid to him, feigningly and making me believe his promiſes, that if he changed not purpoſes betwixt this and that time, I would be content therewith; but in the mean time I bad him take heed that he let no body know thereof; becauſe to ſpeak amongſt our ſelves the

Lords

Lords could not be offended, nor will evil therefore. But they would fear ill respect of the boasting he made of them, that if ever we agreed together, he should make them know the little account they took of him; and that he counselled me not to purchase some of them by him; they for this cause would be in jealousie, if attain'd without their knowledge, I should break the play, set up in the contrary, in their presence. He said very joyfully: And think you they will esteem you the more for that? But I am very glad that you speak to me of the Lords, for I believe at this time you desire that we should live together in quietness; for if it were otherways, greater inconvenience might come to us both than we are aware of; but now I will do whatever you will do, and will love all that you love, and desire you to make them love in like manner; for since they seek not my life, I love them all equally. Upon this point the Bearer will shew you many small things. Because I have over-much to write, and it is late, I give trust unto him upon your word. So that he will go upon my word to all places. Alas, I never deceived any body, But I remit me altogether to your will. Send me Advertisement what I shall do, and whatsoever thing shall come thereof I shall obey you. Advise too with your self if you can find any more secret invention by *medicine*: for he should take *medicine* and the *bath* at *Cragmillar*. He may not come forth of the house this long time. So that by all that I can learn, he is in great suspition; and yet notwithstanding he gives credit to my word; but yet not so far as that he will shew any thing to me. But nevertheless I shall draw it out of him, if you will that I avow all unto him. But I will never rejoyce to defame any body that trusts in me; yet notwithstanding you may command me in all things. Have no evil opinion of me for that cause, by reason you are the occasion of it your self, because for mine own particular revenge I would not do it to him. He gives me some checks of that which I feared, yea, even in the quick, he says thus far, that his faults were publish'd, but there is that commits faults that believe they will never be spoken of, and yet they will speak of great and small. As towards the Lady *Reres* he said, I pray God that she may serve you for your Honour. And said, it is thought, and he believes it to be true, that I have not the Power of my self over my self, and that because of the refuse I made of his offers. So that, for certainty he suspects of the thing you know, and of his life. But as to the last, how soon that I spake two or three good words unto him, he rejoyces, and is out of doubt. I saw him not this evening to end your bracelet, to the which I can get no locks, it is ready for them, and yet I fear it will bring some evil, and may be seen if you chance to be hurt. Advertise me if you will have it, and if you will have more silver, and when I shall return, and how far I may speak. He inrages when he hears of *Lethington*, or of you, or of my Brother. Of your Brother he speaks nothing, he speaks of the Earl of *Argyle*. I am in fear when I hear him speak; for he assures himself that he has not one evil opinion of

him. He ſpeaks nothing of them that is ought neither good or evil, but flies that point. His Father keeps his Chamber, I have not ſeen him. All the *Hamiltons* are here, that accompanies me very honorably. All the Friends of the other conveys me when I go to ſee him. He deſires me to come, and ſee him riſe the Morn betime. For to make ſhort, this Bearer will tell you the reſt. And if I learn any thing here, I will make you a Memorial at Even. He will tell you the occaſion of my remaining. Burn this Letter, for it is over-dangerous, and nothing well ſaid in it; for I am thinking upon nothing but fraud. If you be in *Edenburgh* at the receipt of it, ſend me word ſoon. Be not offended, for I give not over-great credit. Now ſeeing to obey you, my dear Love, I ſpare neither Honour, Conſcience, Hazard, nor Greatneſs whatſoever, take it I pray you in good part; and not after the Interpretation of your falſe good Brother; to whom I pray you give no credit, againſt the moſt faithful Lover that ever you had, or ever ſhall have. *See not her whoſe faint Tears ſhould not be ſo much praiſed nor eſteemed, as the true and faithful Travels, which I ſuſtain for to merit her place. For obtaining of the which againſt my Nature, I betray them that may impeach me.* God forgive me, and God give you, my only Love, the Hap and Proſperity, which your humble and faithful Love deſires of you, who hopes to be ſhortly another thing to you for the reward of my irkſom Travels. It is late, I deſire never to ceaſe from writing unto you, yet now after the kiſſing of your Hands, I will end my Letter. Excuſe my evil Writing, and Read it twice over. Excuſe that thing that is ſcribled, for I had no Paper yeſterday when *I* writ that of the Memorial. Remember your Love, and write unto her, and that very oft. Love me as *I* ſhall do you. Remember you of the purpoſe of the Lady *Reres*, of the *Engliſh-man*, of his Mother, of the Earl of *Argile*, of the Earl *Bothwell*, of the Lodging in *Edenburgh*.

Huntley.

Bothwel's own Wife.

Another Letter to *Bothwell*, concerning certain Tokens that ſhe ſent him.

Monſieur,

SI *l'envy de voſtre abſence, celuy de voſtre oubly, la crainte du danger, tant prouve d' un chacun à voſtre tant amée perſonne*, &c.

My Lord,

IF the diſpleaſure of your Abſence, of your Forgetfulneſs, the fear of danger ſo promiſed by every one to your ſo loved Perſon, may give me Conſolation, I leave it to you to judge; ſeeing the miſhap that my cruel lot and continual miſadventure, has hitherto promiſed me following the misfortunes and fears as well of late as of a long time by-paſt, the which you do know. But for all that I will in no wiſe accuſe you, neither of your little remembrance, neither of your little care, and leaſt of all your Promiſe broken, or of the coldneſs of your Writing, ſince I am elſe ſo far made yours, that

that that which pleaſes you is acceptable to me, and my thoughts are ſo willingly ſubdued unto yours, that I ſuppoſe that all that cometh of you, proceeds not of any of the Cauſes aforeſaid, but rather for ſuch as be juſt and reaſonable, and ſuch as I deſire my ſelf. Which is the final Order that you promiſed to take, for the ſurety and honourable Service of the only Support of my life: for which alone I will preſerve the ſame, and without the which I deſire not but ſudden Death. And to teſtifie unto you how lowly I ſubmit me under your Commandments, I have ſent you in ſign of homage by *Pareir*, the Ornament of the Head, which is the chief guide of the other Members, inferring thereby, that by the ſeiſing of you in the poſſeſſion of the ſpoil of that which is principal, the remnant cannot be but ſubject unto you, and with conſenting of the heart. In place whereof, ſince I have elſe left it unto you, I ſend unto you one Sepulture of hard ſtone coloured with black, ſown with tears and bones. The ſtone I compare to my Heart, that as it is carved in one ſure *Sepulture* or harbour of your Commandments, and above all of your Name and Memory, that are therein incloſed, *as is my Heart* in this Ring, never to come forth while Death grant unto you one Trophy of Victory of my Bones, as the Ring is filled, in ſign you have made one full Conqueſt of me, of mine Heart, and unto that my Bones are left unto you, in remembrance of your Victory, and my acceptable love and willingneſs, for to be better beſtowed than I merit. The ameling that is about is black, which ſignifies the ſtedfaſtneſs of her that ſendeth the ſame. The tears are without number, ſo are the fears to diſpleaſe you; the tears for your Abſence, the diſdain that I cannot be in outward effect yours, as I am without faintneſs of Heart and Spirit, and of good reaſon, though my Merits were much greater than that of the moſt great profit that ever was, and ſuch as I deſire to be, and ſhall take pains in Conditions to imitate, for to be beſtowed worthily under your Regiment. My only Wealth, receive therefore in as good part the ſame, as I have received your Marriage with extream Joy, that which ſhall not part forth of my boſom while that Marriage of our Bodies be made in publick, as ſign of all that I either hope or deſire of Bliſs in this World. Yet, my Heart, fearing to diſpleaſe you, as much in the reading hereof, as it delights me in the writing, I will make an end, after that I have kiſſed your Hand, with as great affection as I pray God (O the only ſupporter of my Life) to give you long and bleſſed Life, and to me your good Favor, as the only good that I deſire, and to the which I pretend: I have ſhewn unto this Bearer that which I have learned, to whom I remit me, knowing the Credit that you give him, as ſhe doth, that will be for ever unto you an humble and obedient lawful Wife, that for ever dedicates unto you her Heart, her Body, without any Change as unto him that I have made Poſſeſſor of my Heart, of which you may hold you aſſured, that unto the Death ſhall no ways be changed for; evil nor good ſhall never make me go from it.

A Head.

The Queens Heart.

your

An

Another Letter to *Bothwell* of her Love to him.

JAy veillé plus tard la haut que je n' euſſe fait, ſi ce n'euſt eſte pour tirer ce que ce porteur vous dira, que je trouve la plus belle commodité pour excuſer voſtre affaire qui ce pourroit preſenter, &c.

I Have waked later [illegible] up than I would have done, if it had not been to draw ſomething out of him, which this Bearer will ſhew you, which is the faireſt Commodity, that can be offered to excuſe your Affairs. I have promiſed to bring him to him in the Morn. Put order to it if you find it good. Now Sir, I have broken my Promiſe, becauſe you commanded me neither to write nor ſend unto you; yet I have not done this to offend you. And if you knew the fear that I have preſently, you would not have ſo many contrary ſuſpitions in your thought, which notwithſtanding I treat and cheriſh as proceeding from the thing in the World that I moſt deſire and ſeek faſteſt to have, which is your good Grace. Of the which my Behaviour ſhall aſſure me; as to me I ſhall never deſpair of it. And prays you according to your Promiſe to diſcharge your Heart unto me; otherwiſe I will think that my evil and the good handling of her that has not the third part of the Faithful, nor willing Obedience unto you that I bear, has won againſt my will that advantage over me, which the ſecond Love of *Jaſon* won. Not that I will compare you to one ſo unhappy as he was, nor yet my ſelf to one ſo unpitiful a Woman as ſhe. Howbeit you cauſe me to be ſomewhat like unto her in any thing that touches you, or that may preſerve and keep you unto her, to whom only you appertain; if it be ſo that *I* may appropriate that which is won through faithful, yea only loving of you, as *I* do and ſhall do all the days of my life, for pain or evil that can come thereof. In recompenſe of the which, and of all the evils which you have been cauſe of to me, remember you upon the place here beſide. *I* crave with that you keep Promiſe to me in the Morn, but that we may meet together, and that you give no faith to ſuſpicions without the certainty of them. And *I* crave no other thing of God, but that you may know that thing that is in my Heart, which is yours, and that he may preſerve you from all evil, at leaſt ſo long as *I* have life, which *I* repute not precious unto me, except in ſo far as it and *I* both are agreeable unto you. *I* am going to bed, and will bid you good Night. Adverti[illegible]e me timely in the Morning how you have fared, for *I* will be in pain until *I* get word. Make good watch, if the Bird get out of the Caige, or without her Mate, as the Turtle, *I* ſhall remain alone to lament your abſence how ſhort that ſoever it be. This Letter will do with a good Heart that thing, which *I* cannot do my ſelf, if it be not that *I* have fear that you are in ſleeping. *I* durſt not write this before *Joſeph*, *Beſtian*, and *Hubbon*, that did, but depart even when *I* begin to write.

An-

Another Letter to *Bothwel* concerning the departure of *Margaret Carwood*, who was privie and a helper of all their love.

MOn cœur helas! faul li que la follie d' une femme, dont vous cognoiſſez aſſez l' in gratitude vers moy, ſoit cauſe de vous donner deplaſir, &c.

MY heart, alas, muſt the folly of a woman whoſe unthankfulneſs toward me you do ſufficiently know, be occaſion of diſpleaſure unto you? conſidering that I could not have remedied thereunto without knowing it? And ſince that I perceive it, I could not tell it you, for that I knew not how to govern my ſelf therein. For neither in that, nor in any other thing, will I take upon me to do any thing without knowledge of your will. Which I beſeech you let me underſtand, for I will follow it all my life, more willingly than you ſhall declare it to me. And if you do not ſend me word this night what you will that I ſhall do, I will rid my ſelf of it, and hazard to cauſe it to be enterpriſed and taken in hand; which might be hurtful unto that whereunto both we do tend. And when ſhe ſhall be married, I beſeech you give me one, or elſe I will take ſuch as ſhall content you, for their conditions, but as for their tongues or faithfulneſs toward you, I will not anſwer. I beſeech you that an opinion of another perſon be not hurtful in your mind to my conſtancy. Miſtruſt me, but then I will put you out of doubt and clear my ſelf. Refuſe it not, my dear life, and ſuffer me to make you ſome proof by my obedience, my faithfulneſs, conſtancy, and voluntary ſubjection, which I take for the pleaſanteſt good that I might receive, if you will accept it, and make no ceremony at it, for you could do me no greater outrage, nor give more mortal grief.

Another Letter ſent from *Sterling* to *Bothwell*, concerning the practice for her Raviſhment.

MOnſieur helas pourquoy eſt voſtre fiance miſe en perſonne ſi indigne, pour ſoup conner ce qui eſt entierement voſtre. J' enrage, vous m' aviez promiſe, &c.

ALas, my Lord, why is your truſt put in a perſon ſo unworthy, to miſtruſt that which is wholly yours? I am mad. You had promiſed me that you would reſolve all, and that you would ſend me word every day what I ſhould do, you have done nothing thereof. I advertiſed you well to take heed of your falſe Brother in law; he came to me, and without ſhewing me any thing from you, told me that you had willed him to write to you that that I ſhould ſay, and where and when you ſhould come to me, and that that you ſhould do touching him, and thereupon hath preached unto me that it was a foolhardy enterprife, and that

that with mine honour I could never marry you, seeing that being married you did carry me away, and that his folks would not suffer it, and that the Lords would unsay themselves, and would deny that they had said. To be short, he is all contrary. I told him, that seeing I was come so far, if you not withdraw your self of your self, that no perswasion nor death it self should make me fail of my promise. As touching the place, you are too negligent (pardon me) to remit your self thereof unto me. Chuse it your self, and send me word of it. And in the mean time I am sick, I will differ, as touching the matter it is too late. It was not long of me that you have not thought thereupon in time. And if you had not more changed your mind since mine absence than I have, you should not be now to ask such resolving. Well there wanteth nothing of my part, and seeing that your negligence doth put us both in the danger of a false Brother, if it succeed not well, I will never rise again. I send this Bearer unto you, for I dare not trust your Brother with these Letters nor with the business. He shall tell you in what state I am, and judge your what amendment these new ceremonies have brought unto me. I would I were dead, for I see all goeth ill. You promised other manner of matter of your foreseeing, but absence hath power over you, Another wife. who have two strings to your bow. Dispatch the Answer, that I fail not, and put no trust in your Brother for his enterprise, for he hath told it, and is also quite against it. God give you good night.

Another Letter to *Bothwell* for the Practice and Device to excuse the Ravishing.

DV lieu & de l'heure je m'en rap porte à vostre frere & à vous, je le suiuray & ne fauldray en rien de ma part. Il trouve beauc oup de difficultez, &c.

OF the Place and Time, *I* remit my self to your Brother and to you. *I* will follow him, and will fail in nothing of my part. He findeth many Difficulties, *I* think he doth advertise you thereof: and what he doth advertise you for the handling of himself. As for the handling of my self *I* heard it once well devised. Methinks that your Services, and the long Amity, having the good will of the Lords, do well deserve a Pardon, if above the duty of a Subject you advance your self, not to constrain me, but to assure your self of such place nigh unto me, that other Admonitions or forcign Perswasions may not lett me from consenting to that that you hope your Service shall make you one day to attain; and to be short, to make your self sure of the Lords, and free to Marry: and that you are constrained for your surety, and to be able to serve me faithfully, to use an humble Request, joyned to an importune Action. And to be short, excuse your self, and perswade them the most you can that you are constrained to make pursuit against your Enemies. You shall say enough, if the Matter or

Ground

Ground do like you, and many fair words to *Ledinton*. If you like not the Deed, send me word, and leave not the blame of all unto me.

Another Letter to *Bothwell* of the Practice for her Raviſhment, and to adviſe him to be ſtirring to do it.

Monſieur depuis ma lettre eſcrit voſtre beau frere qui fuſt, eſt venu à moy fort triſte, & m' à demandé mon conſeil de ce qu' il ſeroit apres demain, &c.

MY Lord, ſince my Letter written, your Brother-in-law that was, came to me very ſad, and both asked me my counſel, what he ſhould do after to morrow, becauſe there be many Folks here, and among others the Earl of *Southerland*, who would rather die, conſidering the good they have ſo lately received of me, than ſuffer me to be carried away, they conducting me; and that he feared there ſhould ſome trouble happen of it: of the other ſide, that it ſhould be ſaid that he were unthankful to have betrayed me. I told him that he ſhould have reſolved with you upon all that; and that he ſhould avoid, if he could, thoſe that were moſt miſtruſted. He hath reſolved to write thereof to you of my opinion; for he hath abaſhed me to ſee him ſo unreſolved at the need. I aſſure my ſelf, he will play the part of an honeſt Man. But I have thought good to adverti ſe you of the fear he hath, that he ſhould be charged and accuſed of Treaſon, to the end, that without miſtruſting him, you may be the more circumſpect, and that you may have the more power: For we had yeſterday more than three hundred Horſe of *Kis*, and of *Leniſton*. For the Honor of God be accompanied rather with more than leſs; for that is the principal of my Care. I go to write my diſpatch, and pray God to ſend us an happy interview ſhortly. I write in haſte, to the end you may be adviſed in time.

Of the Bills of Proclamation and Combat, ſet up by Bothwell, *and the Anſwers.*

IMmediately after the Death of the King, who was Murthered, and his Houſe blown up with Gun-powder, the Ninth Day of *February* in the Night, 1567. Proclamation was made, That whoſoever could bewray the cruel Murtherers of the King ſhould have two thouſand Pounds. Unto the which Proclamation, reply was made, and ſet up privily upon the *Tol-Booth*-Door of *Edinburgh*, the Sixteenth of *February* in this manner.

BEcauſe Proclamation is made, That whoſoever will reveal the Murtherers of the King ſhall have two thouſand Pounds, I who have made in-

quisition by them that were the doers thereof, affirm that the Committers of it were the Earl *Bothwell*, Master *James Balfoure*, the Parson of *Flisk*, Mr. *David Chambers*, *Black* Mr. *John Spence*, who was principal devifer of the Murther, and the Queen assenting thereto through the perswasion of the Earl *Bothwell*, and the Witchcraft of the Lady *Buccleugh*.

If this be not true spere at *Gilbert Bawfoord.*

UPon this, new Proclamation was made the same Day, desiring the setter up of the said Bill to come and avow and subscribe the same, and he should have the Sum promised in the first Proclamation, and further according to his Ability, and sight of the Queen, and her Counsel.

The answer thereunto was set up in the place aforesaid, the morrow after, being the Nineteenth of the same Month.

FOrasmuch as Proclamation hath been made since the setting up of my first Letter, desiring me to subscribe, and avow the same for answer, *I* desire the Money to be consigned into an evenly Man's hand, and *I* shall appear on *Sunday* next with some four with me, and subscribe my first Letter, and abide thereat. And further *I* desire that *Senior Francis Bastian*, and *Joseph* the Queens Goldsmith be staid, and *I* shall declare what every Man did in particular, with their Complices.

To which Bill no Answer was made.

THE Thirteenth Day of *April* the Earl *Bothwell* coming to the Sessions at *Edenburgh*, with an Ensign displaid, and the Streets full of armed Men of his Faction, was arraigned for Murther of the King, and acquit of the same by a perjured Jury: whereupon he set up a Challenge to fight hand to hand with any Man, (being no Person defamed) that would avow the matter.

Hereunto answer was made by another Bill set up in the same place anon after.

That forasmuch as the said Earl *Bothwell* had set up a Writing, subscribed with his own hand, whereby he did Challenge any Man (not defamed) that would or durst say he was guilty of the King's Death, and therewithal did give the Lye in his Throat to him that would avouch the Quarrel: a Gentleman, and a Man of good Fame, did by those Presents accept the offer and offers, and would prove by the Law of Arms, that he was the chief Author of that foul and horrible Murther, albeit an inquest for fear of Death had slightly quit him. And because the King of *France*, and the Queen of *England* had by their Ambassadors desired that Tryal and Punishment might be had for the same, he most heartily therefore craved of their Majesties, that they would desire of the Queen his Sovereign, that by her Consent,

they

they might appoint their day and place within the Dominions for the tryal thereof according to the Law of Arms, in their presences, or in their Deputies. Which day and place he promised by the faith of a Gentleman to appear at, and to his devoir, provided always that their Majesties by open Proclamation shall give assurance to him and to his company, to pass and repass through their Countries, without hurt or impediment. What just cause he had to desire the King of *France* and the Queen of *England* to be Judges in the Case, he remitted to the Judgment of the Readers and the hearers, warning by those presents the rest of the murtherers to prepare themselves, for they should have the like offer made unto them, and their names given in writing, that they might be known unto all men.

The Confession of John Hamiroun, *young* Talla, Dagleish *and* Pourie, *upon whom was justice executed, the third of* January, *the year of God* 1567.

JOhn Hamiroun confessed, that nine was at the deed doing, my Lord *Bothwell*, the Lord of *Ormiston*, *Hob Ormiston*, himself, *Talla*, *Dagleish*, *Vilson*, *Pourie*, and *French Paris*, and that he saw no more, nor knew of no other companies.

Item, he knows no other but that that he was blown in the Air, for he was handled with no mens hands as he saw, and if it was, it was with others, and not with them.

Item, as touching Sir *James Balfour*, he saw not his Subscription, but I warrant you he was the principal Counsellour and deviser.

Item, he said, I confess that it is the very providence of God that has brought me to his Judgment, for I am led to it as an horse to the stall, for I had ships provided to flie but could not escape.

Item, he said, let no man do evil for counsel of great men, or their Masters, thinking they shall save them, for surely I thought that night that the deed was done, that although knowledge should be got, no man durst have said it was evil done, seeing the hand-writ, and acknowledging the Queens mind thereto.

Item, Speaking of the Queen in the *Tol-booth*, he said, God make all well, but the longer dirt is hidden it is the stronger. Who Lives, our Deaths will be thought no news.

Item, In the Conclusion he confessed, he was one of the principal doers of the Death, and therefore is justly worthy of Death, but he was assured of the Mercy of God, who called him to repentance.

ITem, *Talla* confessed *ut supra*, agreeing in all Points as concerning the Persons, number, and blowing up into the Air.

Item, He affirmed, that in *Seton* my Lord *Bothwell* called on him, and said, What thought you when you saw him blown in the Air? Who answered, Alas, my Lord, why speak you that? for when ever I hear such a thing,

that

the words wound me to death, as they ought to do you.

Item, That same time he saw Sir *James Balfour* put in his own name and his Brother's unto my Lord *Bothwel*'s Remission.

Item, He knew of the Deed doing three or four days ere it was done, or thereabout.

Item, He said, after that I came to the Court, I left the reading of God's Word, and embraced Vanity, and therefore has God justly brought this on me.

Wherefore let all Men shun evil Company, and to trust not in Men, for ready are we to embrace evil, as ready as Tinder to receive fire. And further in the *Tol-booth* he required *John Brand*, Minister of the Congregation, to pass to my Lord *Lindsey*, and say, My Lord, heartily I forgive your Lordship, and also my Lord Regent and all others, but specially them that betrayed me to you; for I know if you could have saved me you would, desiring as ye will answer before God at the later Day to do your diligence to bring the rest who were the beginners of this Work to Justice, as ye have done to me; for ye know it was not begun in my head, but yet he praises God that his Justice has begun at me, by the which he has called me to repentance.

Item, *Dagleish* said, as God shall be my Judge, I knew nothing of the King's Death before it was done, for my Lord *Bothwell* going to his Bed, after the taking off of his Hose, which was stocked with Velvet, *French Paris* came and spake with him, and after that he tarried on me for other Hose and Cloaths, and his riding Cloak and Sword, which I gave him, and after that came up to the Gate to the Lord of *Ormistan*'s Lodging, and tarried for him, and thereafter that he passed to a Place beside the Black-Friars, and came to the slope of the Dike, where he bid me stand still; and as God shall be my Judge, I knew nothing while I heard the Blast of Powder; and after this he came home, lay down in his Bed, while Mr. *George Hacker* came and knocked at the Door; and if I die for this, the which God Judge me if I knew more, what shall be done to the Devisers, Counsellers, Subscribers, and Fortifiers of it?

FINIS.